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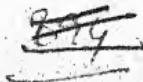
The Hakluyt Society

RICHARD HAKLUYT

&

HIS SUCCESSORS

A VOLUME ISSUED
TO COMMEMORATE THE CENTENARY
OF THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY



SECOND SERIES

No. XCIII

ISSUED FOR 1946

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1946

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The first, conteining the personall trauels of the English vnto *India, Syria, A-*
rabia, the riuuer Euphrates, Babylon, Balsara, the Persian Gulfe, Ormuz, Chaul,
Goa, India, and many Islands adioyning to the South parts of Asia: toge-
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in and without the Streight of Gibraltar, and about the famous Promon-
torie of Buona Esperanza.

The ſecond, comprehending the worthy diſcoueries of the English towards
the North and Northeast by Sea, as of *Lapland, Scrikſnia, Corelia, the Baie*
of S. Nicholau, the Iſles of Colgoine, Vaigats, and Noua Zembla toward the
great riuuer Ob, with the mightie Empire of Russia, the Caspian Sea, Georgia,
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grees of Northerly latitude Southward, to *Meta Incognita, Newfoundland,*
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land of Noua Hispania, the coaſt of Terra firma, Bragill, the riuuer of Plate, to
the Streight of Magellan: and through it, and from it in the South Sea to
Chili, Peru, Xalisco, the Gulfe of California, Noua Albion vpon the backſide
of Canada, further then euer any Christian hitherto hath pierced.

Whereunto is added the laſt most renowned English Navigation,
round about the whole Globe of the Earth.

By Richard Hakluyt Master of Artes, and Student sometime
of Chrifti-church in Oxford.



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RICHARD HAKLUYT
&
HIS SUCCESSORS

A VOLUME ISSUED
TO COMMEMORATE THE CENTENARY
OF THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

Edited by

EDWARD LYNAM
D.LITT., M.R.I.A., F.S.A.

15338

But there stood
Another little Ile, well stor'd with wood...
There, close vpon the sea, sweet medowes spring,
That yet of fresh streames want no watering...

In it lies
A harbor so opportune, that no ties,
Halsers, or gables need; no anchors cast.
Whom stormes put in there, are with stay embrac't.

(GEORGE CHAPMAN's translation
of the *Odyssey*, 1612, bk ix.)

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THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

1946

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PREFACE

This volume is issued for the Centenary of the Hakluyt Society, a proud event which the Council believes worthy of commemoration. In the hundred years of its existence the Society has published a hundred and ninety-three serial volumes and thirty-three extra volumes which, though prepared voluntarily and in their spare time by editors of divers professions, historians, geographers, sailors, soldiers, archivists and explorers, have not, I venture to say, been without importance in the promotion of knowledge nor interest for a large circle of readers. Scattered all over the world though they are, our Members are united by a bond of common interest, and the Council sends this book out to them with cordial good wishes and with confidence that it will strengthen that bond. In it we have claimed the privilege of a centenarian, and written the tale of our own origin and objects, of our youth, our adventures and vicissitudes and of our maturity and its problems. For those of them who are not well versed in the life and work of our patron saint, Richard Hakluyt, Dr Williamson's masterly essay will afford delightful reading. The history of our Society itself, which, though little known, has much human as well as learned interest, has been written with knowledge and charm by Sir William Foster, who has been a Member since 1893 as well as a Member of Council, Hon. Secretary and President. In their essay on collections of narratives of travel Mr Crone and Mr Skelton have, I believe, opened up a new subject in English historical literature, and many people as well as Hakluytians will find it a valuable work of reference. For the index we are indebted to Mr A. Hugh Carrington, a Member of Council, while the lists of members and of publications have been brought up to date by our indefatigable Hon. Secretary.

Preface

Were it not for the support given to it by the Trustees of the British Museum and the Council of the Royal Geographical Society, our Society would certainly not have been able to continue its work so long and so efficiently; and the Council welcomes this opportunity to acknowledge its great debt to them. The Director of the British Museum and the President of the Royal Geographical Society were among the founders of the Hakluyt Society; ever since 1846 officers of both these institutions have taken an active part in our work; and both have for many years generously provided our Society with house-room for meetings and office work. We are proud of this friendly co-operation, and trust that it will continue for yet another century.

We also wish to give cordial thanks to three well-known firms who between them have printed all our volumes for some thirty years. They have produced admirable founts of type for us, and when it has been necessary to publish a volume in haste they have always risen nobly to the occasion. The artistic care which is evident in the binding of our volumes in their familiar light-blue jacket is the work of the Leighton-Straker Bookbinding Company, which has given us excellent service for nearly half a century. Our Council also desires to express its thanks to the Council of the Royal Geographical Society for permission to reprint from their *Journal* Sir William Foster's essay on Samuel Purchas; to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to reproduce Plates I, III, IV-VI; and to Messrs G. Bell and Sons for a quotation on page 79.

EDWARD LYNAM

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I

RICHARD HAKLUYT

BY JAMES A. WILLIAMSON, D.Lit.

RICHARD HAKLUYT

When the founders of the Hakluyt Society defined its object a hundred years ago they gave it as the printing of 'rare and valuable Voyages, Travels, Naval Expeditions, and other geographical records'. They were gathered to carry on the tradition of Hakluyt, and they assumed that Hakluyt was a geographer and nothing else. To us who read Hakluyt's works to-day it is evident that he was also an economist, a historian and a public advocate of colonization and discovery. Why were our predecessors content to rate him solely as a geographer? The answer may be that history at that time dealt almost exclusively with our domestic politics and the relations of the European powers. There was, it is true, a considerable body of historical work on India, but its interest depended largely upon its bearing on British politics. Macaulay was a writer of wide scope who reviewed important books as they appeared, and the subjects of his historical essays all fall in the above categories. The annals of commerce ranked rather as useful knowledge than as history. The oceanic history of which Hakluyt had laid the foundation, the true prelude to the building of the British empire, had lost the position he had made for it as an essential part of the national record, and, as history, was hardly in the consciousness of the early nineteenth century at all. In that great matter the tradition of Hakluyt was almost lost. The Hakluyt Society therefore defined its work as geographical. But its two hundred and twenty-five volumes were to build up, nevertheless, a collection of material whose interest became increasingly historical as the scope of history expanded to embrace it, and the Society's century of achievement can be seen to represent all sides of Hakluyt's effort.

That Hakluyt was consciously a publicist and a historian as well as a geographer may be seen from his own words. In his

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dedication of a publication to Raleigh in 1587 he remarks that 'geography is the eye of history', in a context which leaves no doubt that history is the primary motive and geography the accessory. Eleven years later he repeats the idea in his preface to the first volume of the enlarged *Principal Navigations*. Having spoken of his labour to bring to light the ancient deeds and to preserve the recent exploits of the English nation 'for the honour and benefit of this commonwealth wherein I live and breathe', he says that he has used the aids of geography and chronology, 'the sun and the moon, the right eye and the left, of all history'. In the dedication of the same volume to Lord Howard of the Armada, he describes how, having 'waded on still farther and farther in the sweet study of the history of cosmography, I began at length to conceive that with diligent observation something might be gathered which might commend our nation for their high courage and singular activity in the search and discovery of the most unknown quarters of the world'. His fullest account of his own development occurs in the 1589 dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham of the earlier edition of his greatest work. He begins with the well-known account of his introduction to geography by his cousin, Hakluyt the lawyer, and of his resolution, while yet a schoolboy, to pursue the subject. He did so, he says, with unflagging zest, and in due course it led him to seek acquaintance with sea-captains, merchants and mariners, to learn of their discoveries and appreciate their motives. Then in 1583 he went for five years to the English embassy in Paris, where he talked with Frenchmen and Portuguese who could satisfy his curiosity. While there he found that the record of English deeds was small in comparison with that of the Portuguese, Spaniards and Frenchmen, and that his countrymen were contemned for want of enterprise and failure to seize their opportunities. He thought the reproach unjust and determined to remove it by publishing to the world a great history of English achievements beyond the sea. So, from a geographer

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studying for intellectual pleasure he had become a historian of patriotic inspiration. He was already, as we know from other evidence—the *Divers Voyages* of 1582, and the *Western Planting* of 1584—a publicist and a counsellor for present and future national enterprise across the ocean. That was a natural growth from his geographical knowledge and his patriotism.

The Elizabethan period called for work of this kind, and would have been poorer and less successful without it. It was with good reason that the Elizabethan writers, and notably Hakluyt, spoke always with reverence of Henry VIII for his leadership and of Henry VII for his wisdom. The first two Tudors restored national prosperity, and maintained it, by vindicating the rule of law and by claiming for England her place as one of the great powers of Europe. In their time trade flourished and wealth increased. A bad interval followed, dating from Henry VIII's last war with France and Scotland, and continuing into the early years of Elizabeth. English merchants lost their hold on foreign markets, the government of Edward VI was corrupt and partisan, Mary led the country to a French war in which England suffered clear defeat, the Navy was no longer adequate to prevent invasion, and unemployment spread poverty through the land. Over all this anxiety loomed the unsolved religious problem, whereby it seemed that, whether England became officially Catholic or Protestant, the conflict was so bitter and the rivals so evenly matched that civil war and perhaps even conquest by a foreign power were hardly to be averted. The economic difficulty underlay all else, the decline of the old trades with neighbouring Europe, in which England had prospered under the Henries. The remedy was sought some time before the reign of Elizabeth began, and in one aspect it may be said that the Elizabethan expansion dates from the foundation of the Muscovy Company in 1552, with its ambition of founding a new trade with Asia and its achievement of founding one with Russia. Unincorporated adventurers

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were at the same time trading with Barbary and Guinea, and a flood of energy was released which never slackened until the British oceanic interest was permanently established.

Knowledge, guidance and inspiration were needed to direct advance and preserve determination through disappointments. They were supplied by many minds and from many angles. Just as Drake was not the only great seaman of his time, nor Shakespeare the only dramatist, so Hakluyt was not the only creator of the public pride in maritime achievement nor supplier of the facts upon which it rested. Each of these three in his own sphere was the greatest example of a widespread talent, its exponent, its moulder and its crown. Drake and Shakespeare were of quality supreme; and if that height cannot be claimed for Hakluyt, he had at least the genius that consists in taking pains.

The public interest with which he was concerned was first the revival and then the advancement of national greatness by means of trade. For a long half-century before his time Spain and Portugal had been expanding in the outer continents, while England had grown rich in Europe. With the mid-Tudor depression England awoke to the truth that in the great newly discovered world lay her future also. The effort was to be primarily and mainly by sea, although enterprise deep in the heart of Asia also played its part. Oceanic trade being the aim, discovery with a view to trade came into the plan. The Muscovy Company was so named only after the event; its style at the outset was 'The Merchants Adventurers for the Discovery of New Trades', and its operations were to be in isles and continents unknown. It did, in fact, open a new trade with Asia when its servant Anthony Jenkinson reached Persia by way of Russia, having first been into central Asia as far as Bokhara. With most of the Elizabethan projectors Asia in its many aspects was the ultimate goal. Some hoped to reach its eastern coasts by discovering the North-West Passage round North America

Richard Hakluyt

or by using the South-West Passage through Magellan's Straits. Some thought to sell English cloth in its northern regions by discovering the North-East Passage round the Siberian coast and then passing on to China and Japan. Others desired to follow the Portuguese round the Cape of Good Hope to India and southern Asia; and others again to reach that end through the Levant and the Turkish dominions.

Hakluyt's publications aided most of the Asiatic approaches, but he had other views as well. North America as a stepping stone to Asia appealed to him, and for its own sake it appealed more strongly still. It was there, indeed, that his heart's desire really lay. He was the most forceful advocate of the colonial school of thought, which looked for social betterment not only through the expansion of trade but by the founding of new homes for the hungry and destitute in the vacant lands across the sea. For that purpose North America was the obvious scene of effort; and the more their minds dwelt upon it the more Hakluyt and his friends could discern rich and varied possibilities. They dreamed of farmlands, timber, vineyards, fisheries, trading posts to exchange their manufactures for furs and skins, naval bases to bridle the Spanish treasure route, all to constitute a new English nation freed from the overcrowded poverty that depressed them at home.

The growth of sea power was inseparable from these proposals, for voyages created sea power. The point of view of sea power was different from ours to-day. None doubted, indeed, that the defence of the realm rested on it. The difference was in the emphasis placed on its ingredients. Where we are accustomed to count battleships and cruisers in assessing the state of the national defence, the Elizabethans counted seamen and merchant shipping. In the numbers of skilled seamen consisted the safety of the nation. It was not thought possible to improvise the crews of fighting ships out of landsmen when the need should arise. The men must be already existing, a class apart, bred from

boyhood to the sea, irreplaceable if lost. So, throughout the Tudor period, public opinion and state policy insisted that English seamen must find extensive employment in all sorts of trades, in voyages long and short; and anyone who established a new sea trade, such as that to the Levant or the Newfoundland fishery, was reckoned a promoter of wealth and a defender of his country. Sea power and material gain were the two main aspects of the mercantile policy. None can say whether the primary motive was to create wealth in order to support sea power, or to create sea power in order to defend the wealth. Public thought made no distinction. The two were one.

Hakluyt therefore worked for the increase of seamen. There must be new trades to employ more of them, discovery to create openings for new trades, scientific navigation to preserve their lives from shipwreck. He did not go to sea himself, and so never realized the truth that appealed to John Hawkins, that disease killed infinitely more men than accident, and that hygiene could save more than navigation. But Hawkins was almost alone in perceiving that. His fellow-captains until the days of Cook accepted pestilence as inevitable in conditions which they made no attempt to change. With reservation of that blind spot we may credit Hakluyt with promoting the increase of seamen by all available means. The ships themselves followed as a matter of course, the merchantmen, the private men-of-war, the Royal Navy. There was less talk about the ships, for they were easier to come by than the men. The arguments on the policy, design and tonnage of the fighting Navy, which in our days have been vigorously carried on in the public press, were conducted in secret by the Crown and its Ministers and the officers of the Navy Board. Hakluyt and the publicists had nothing to say on the subject. Richard Hawkins discussed the design of ships-of-war in his *Observations*, written in the last year of Elizabeth's reign, and he then kept the book in cold storage for twenty years before printing it. It was a matter solely for the experts, and

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there was no public opinion to express or satisfy. The lack of emphasis on the Royal Navy was largely due to the fact that in the public mind all ships were fighting ships. All the fleets mobilized for war in the Tudor period and long before it consisted of a majority of privately owned vessels and a minority of those belonging to the Crown; and it was popularly supposed that, even as late as the Armada campaign, the fighting was done by the whole shipping of the nation. Only the seamen knew that by 1588 it was an obsolete conception, and that the Queen's ships bore the brunt, while the merchantmen were merely auxiliaries. There was, indeed, an intermediate class that was capable of serious fighting, the men-of-war privately owned for oceanic adventure by such men as Hawkins, Drake, Raleigh and Leicester, whose purposes were combatant rather than mercantile, and the well-armed fleet of the Levant Company, which had to fight its way through a Mediterranean swarming with Catholic and Mahometan enemies. Hakluyt's propaganda emphasized the value of these enterprises, and he devoted special attention to publicizing the Levant trade and to the value of a colonial trade in creating large merchantmen.

Was the public appreciation of all these issues spontaneous, or did it need rousing? The answer is that it was much more sluggish than would have been adequate to the Elizabethan achievement without the work of Hakluyt. Public opinion was of different sorts according to the topic. On sentimental and religious issues, such as Henry VIII's divorce of Catherine of Aragon or his overthrow of the papal jurisdiction, it was very widespread, 'jangled in every alehouse'; and in the contest between Catholics and Protestants in Elizabeth's reign there must have been few men who did not form views of their own. The commercial policy of the early Tudor sovereigns had a large body of support from the more intelligent elements in both town and country. The merchants collected and exported the cloth and the raw wool which were England's leading exports,

but the countryside produced it. Almost every Parliament of the Tudor period enacted detailed legislation on the cloth trade, of which many of the Members had an intimate knowledge. But public opinion was unanimous on the mercantile policy as applied to the old commerce with Spain, Flanders and Germany, and there was little need for the persuasions of the publicist.

The creation of an oceanic interest, on the other hand, and the promotion of discovery in unknown regions, were in a different category, with a natural appeal only to a small minority. It is remarkable how few traces the American discoveries of the Cabots and the seamen of Bristol have left in the literary record. Chronicles and histories and informative books were produced in the early sixteenth century, but they almost ignore the ocean and its interests, as they could not have done had there been any sustained public appreciation of the subject. Henry VIII failed in his desultory attempts to encourage oceanic enterprise, not so much from lack of purpose on his own part as because his subjects, even of the sea-trading classes, were indifferent or hostile. Representative merchants of London condemned a royal proposal for a transatlantic trading company in 1521 on the ground that it would excite Spanish jealousy and imperil London's business nearer home. There were a few enthusiasts such as John Rastell (More's brother-in-law) and the Thorne family, merchants of Bristol, but they failed to elicit any public response. With the exception of a few pages in a little book by Rastell there was no work printed in England on discovery and extra-European projects until the sixteenth century had run half its course.

The mid-Tudor depression changed the conditions by diminishing the wealth gained in the old European trades. Unemployment and beggary threatened the social order, and in the search for remedies the thinking public were compelled to extend their vision. The City of London, which had turned its face against Henry's oceanic plan of 1521, subscribed with

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ardour in 1552 to the Duke of Northumberland's joint-stock company for the finding of the North-East Passage. The departure next year of its first expedition under Willoughby and Chancellor was a public occasion in London, and almost suddenly discovery became popular. That year Richard Eden published his *Treatise of the New India*, a translation dedicated to Northumberland. The patron was unfortunately executed a few weeks later by the incoming Queen Mary, but Eden squared his position in his next book, a translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades of the New World*, with some trowel-laid flattery of King Philip, the new Queen's new husband. Eden's work gave the English public its first history of the discovery of America. Much of it had been written half a century earlier, but it was all new to English readers. He also included something quite up-to-the-minute, in narratives of two pioneer voyages to the Gold Coast and other parts of West Africa, led respectively by Thomas Wyndham and John Lok in 1553-4 and 1554-5. Eden was interested in the romance of adventure and strange lands, and revelled in describing the habits and appearance of the African 'oliphant', whose tusks formed part of the booty of the new adventurers. His books satisfied a new market of readers ready to be interested; but he had not gone as far as to formulate any scheme for English empire-building. His oracle was the aged Sebastian Cabot, lately returned to England to organize its undertakings after thirty-five years in Spanish service; and Cabot was a secretive man not given to enunciating his plans.

The publicity of the Elizabethan age, with its three aspects of geography, history and incitement to enterprise, was now launched, slightly before the accession of the Queen herself. Clement Adams, a disciple of the new movement, had already engraved a world-map of which copies adorned the royal galleries and the houses of London merchants, and he seems also to have published an account of the first north-eastern

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voyage, which had opened the new trade with Moscow by way of the White Sea. Manuals of navigation by Eden and others followed, and then, in the fifteen-sixties, three or four published works on Florida, which had become topical through the foundation and overthrow of a French colony whose Huguenot promoters had English connections. The Florida affair was the first occasion of any manifestation by the English government of interest in America since the middle years of Henry VIII; but the plans miscarried and Spain asserted her claim to the coast. The voyages of John Hawkins with manufactures from England and slaves from Africa for sale to Spanish America were at first kept as secret as possible. The last of them, however, in 1567-9, resulted in the famous treachery and fight against odds at San Juan de Ulua. It inflamed the seamen of England against Spain and invigorated the combative Protestantism of the new English generation, and called for an authoritative public statement. Hawkins furnished it in a *True Declaration* published in 1569.

So far we have taken account only of the published work of Hakluyt's predecessors. There was also a good deal of unpublished speculation circulated in manuscript or by oral discussion. Dr John Dee, known to the Queen and received at court, was persistent in impressing on the great men his views on the approach to Asia by any of the ocean routes. Sir Richard Grenville and a group of west-country magnates sought sanction for a voyage through the Straits of Magellan to discover Terra Australis Incognita, the continent thought to border the South Pacific. Hawkins and Drake, disillusioned of trading with the Spanish empire, looked for revenge by capturing its treasure fleets.

Published historico-geographical work grew important again in the late seventies with the new public interest in Frobisher's north-western discoveries. It was then that Gilbert's *Discourse on the North-West Passage* came into print. Next

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year (1577) Richard Willes published his *History of Travel in the West and East Indies*, covering Eden's old ground in the west and providing much information new to England on the east. Thomas Nicholas, a merchant who had been maltreated by the Inquisition in the Canary Islands, brought out a translation of a Spanish account of China, and a history of Cortez in Mexico. John Frampton, another merchant who had been racked in the Inquisition at Seville, printed in English a Spanish account of the natural products of America; another volume, of sinister significance to his enemies, describing the ports and havens of the West Indies; and yet a third on Asia, no less a work than the first English translation of the *Travels of Marco Polo*. Several books and pamphlets also appeared on Frobisher's voyages.

Altogether, the public interest in oceanic expansion had been stimulated by 1580 to an unprecedented height. This new literature created a branch of practical learning that was as yet sporadic and uncoordinated and gave rather a view of great possibilities than a plan for their realization. The subject was founded, but it awaited a master mind to drive its lessons home.

The master mind existed in the person of a man not yet thirty who had prepared himself for the opportunity. He belonged to a family long settled in Herefordshire and traceable as early as 1260 under the name of Haklutel or Haklite. By the sixteenth century its bearers were spelling it Hakluyt, while other people were rendering it, perhaps phonetically, as Hacklit or Hacklett. John Leland the antiquary thought that the name was Welsh and originally Ap Cluyd, but no evidence to this effect has been found, and it may be only a learned guess. More to the point, to us who have occasion to speak of the Elizabethan Hakluyt, is the pronunciation. Some have called it Hakloot and some Haklite. Years ago there was a fancy for Hackle-wit on the strength of a rare variant of the spelling. But this is far-fetched and unlikely, for if Hacklewit represented anything like a true

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pronunciation it was undoubtedly divided at a different point, as Hack-lewit, and thus akin to Hakluyt. Opinions differ, and it is a matter of preference. That of the present writer is for the rendering of the contemporary Elizabethan, who did not trouble to get the correct spelling but did know how the name was pronounced; and he, as above mentioned, favoured Hacklit.

The Richard Hakluyt with whom we are mainly concerned was born in 1551 or 1552. He was educated at Westminster School and then at Christ Church, Oxford, where he held a studentship for several years after taking his degree. He took orders and was rewarded for his public services with some modest clerical preferments. To distinguish him from his cousin and namesake, Richard Hakluyt the lawyer, he is sometimes referred to as Richard Hakluyt the preacher. In his earlier years he did so describe himself, but in retrospect it is somewhat inappropriate, as it would be to speak of Jonathan Swift the preacher. He owes his fame to quite different activities and, so far as the present writer can discover, the eye of history never caught him preaching. In this brief account he will be designated simply as Hakluyt, while the other man will be described as Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple or Hakluyt the lawyer.

Hakluyt the lawyer was by several years the older of the two. The date of his birth is unknown, but he became a law student in 1555, when he may have been twenty or a little less. He was a man of comfortable means, and ultimately became the head of the family and possessor of its Herefordshire property. Like many others of his time he was exercised about the restoration of English prosperity by means of trade and, as a by-employment to the law, he specialized in collecting economic facts, particularly on the products and wants of the remoter countries, and imparting them to merchants and projectors who sought his advice. His knowledge and usefulness grew with experience, and he became a recognized consultant on economic geography.

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He produced no great book, but wrote notes and short papers for the use of his clients. Some of them are printed in his younger cousin's collections. He drew up instructions for an English dyer who was to go to Persia to obtain technical knowledge of Persian textiles. When it was proposed that Frobisher should plant a settlement in the North-West to keep guard over the supposed gold mines discovered there, it was Hakluyt the lawyer who framed the instructions for choosing the site and prospecting for commodities. Again, in 1580, when the Muscovy Company sent out an expedition to open the North-East Passage, it was he who furnished the detailed advice on its trading aspects. He collected economic facts on Newfoundland for Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Finally, he composed a prospectus (not printed until later) for the Virginia colony which Raleigh hoped to found in 1585. In his last years he retired to his country estate, where he died in 1591.

Every one of these enterprises failed, although not by reason of deficiency in the work of their economic consultant. Hakluyt of the Middle Temple was in no sense a director of any of them, and it was simply not his luck to be associated with a resounding success. In his time, in fact, there were few successes in such undertakings. Fortune smiled less on the merchant pioneer than on the men of the sword. The fifteen-seventies and eighties belonged to Drake and his school.

Hakluyt the lawyer is therefore a noteworthy but minor character in the Elizabethan story. His most fruitful work was done in an hour, the introduction of young Richard Hakluyt to the study of cosmography. The incident, as told by the younger man, has often been retold, and his words have been as often quoted. They must be again, for they are one of the heights of the English record which it is a pity to paraphrase:

I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Majesties scholars at Westminster that fruitfull nurserie, it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt my cosin, a Gentleman of

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the Middle Temple, well knownen unto you, at a time when I found lying open upon his boord certeine bookees of Cosmographie, with an universall Mappe: he seing mee somewhat curious in the view thereof, began to instruct my ignorance, by shewing me the division of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, & better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the knownen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & intercourse of merchants, are plentifullly supplied. From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalme, directed mee to the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse (things of high and rare delight to my yong nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolved, if ever I were preferred to the University, where better time, and more convenient place might be ministred for these studies, I would by Gods assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me.

After some delay Hakluyt achieved his first ambition and went to Oxford in 1570 at a later age than was common. He became Bachelor of Arts in 1574 and Master in 1577. At some date after that he was ordained. It was almost the only course open to a man of no private fortune who wished to devote his life to scholarship. He might perhaps as a layman have become a tutor in a great family, but his work would have been seriously hampered, as it would also have been had he chosen to earn his living by the law. Hakluyt was a sincere Christian of the orthodox Protestantism which in Elizabeth's reign was closely akin to patriotism and loyalty to the throne. In that respect he was no different from many a layman. In the absorbing work of his life his clerical status rested lightly upon him. Its function

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was to provide him with an income which he used in the public service.

The decade of the fifteen-seventies, when Hakluyt was at Oxford unhurriedly taking his degrees and eagerly learning languages, collecting books and making himself master of his chosen subject of cosmography, was a time which saw tendencies formed and decisions taken critical in the fortunes of England. Two circumstances confirmed the Anglo-Spanish hostility which was to deepen into war, the assumption by Spain of the leadership of the Catholic revival and its crusade against Protestantism, and the overthrow of John Hawkins's trading expedition at San Juan de Ulua, a defeat that rankled the more because Hawkins could have made a successful defence had he not shown a sense of responsibility for keeping the peace at risk to himself. Hawkins came home with his story in 1569. In 1570 the Pope excommunicated Elizabeth and denied her right to the throne. The English government intercepted treasure intended for the Spanish troops operating against the patriots of the Netherlands, a struggle in which there was already a strong religious element. The Spanish ambassador in London was a promoter of the Ridolfi Plot for the assassination of Elizabeth, and was expelled when his action came to light. The massacre of St Bartholomew in 1572 was generally supposed to have been devised by Philip of Spain. Drake and several other captains began irregular war in the Caribbean, and Drake captured much treasure in his Panama raid of 1572-3. In home waters English seamen took part with the Dutch rebels and the Huguenots of France in capturing Catholic shipping owned by Spain and her allies. Mary Queen of Scots, who had become a prisoner in England to avoid the worse fate of violence at the hands of her own subjects, was the focus of ceaseless intrigues and plots in the Catholic interest. Drake sailed in 1577 to convert an exploring expedition into a huge seizure of Spanish wealth on the coast of Peru. Before he returned in 1580 Philip invaded

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Portugal and seized its crown and its rich Eastern, African and Brazilian empire, thus doubling his wealth and apparent might but also making himself more vulnerable to attack by English sea power. The events of the decade made most Englishmen regard war with Spain as inevitable, and the conquest of Portugal impressed all but Drake and Hawkins with the relentless power of their great antagonist.

Fear of war with a colossus dominated opinion. Nevertheless, the same period had seen much effort for peaceful expansion. The Muscovy Company was active in Russia and Persia and did its utmost in 1580 to complete the discovery of the North-East Passage. The English government founded a new Eastland Company to revive the Baltic trade in rivalry with the decaying Hanseatic League. The merchants of London revived an almost dead trade in the lawless Mediterranean and secured their position as the Turkey (afterwards Levant) Company in 1581. Frobisher made his three voyages to the north-west in the service of Michael Lok's short-lived Cathay Company. Sir Richard Grenville planned the discovery of Terra Australis Incognita, and Drake made that enterprise the stalking-horse to his raid on Peru and then to his crossing of the Pacific and the first English visit to the Spice Islands of eastern Asia. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, with young Walter Raleigh as his subordinate, obtained his patent for the colonization of North America and made a first effort in 1578. Seldom have there been ten years in English history with a more varied record of hopes and fears to stimulate the men of action and the men who take thought for their country's future.

Such was the stage which Hakluyt had watched from the wings and on which he now stepped to play his part after long years of preparation. He accepted the scene as he found it: the Spanish menace, the Tudor Queen, the Protestant ascendancy in England, the world of opportunity without. He never questioned the validity of his positions, never analysed his soul or

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invited others to. He was a man of intellect but not an intellectual, with an objective outlook which may perhaps be more common in English literature than in that of some other countries.

There is in the State Papers a manuscript pamphlet of date 1579-80 which Professor E. G. R. Taylor has attributed to Hakluyt, mainly on the resemblance of the handwriting to that of a document known to have been written by him some years later. If the attribution is valid, the pamphlet is his first known essay in the work that was to occupy the remainder of his life. It is a proposal for the occupation of the Straits of Magellan by a permanent English colony, to be backed by a similar occupation of St Vincent on the south Brazilian coast. If successful, these undertakings would give England command of the access by sea to the west coast of South America and to the Pacific with all its other possibilities. The proposal was written after the return of John Winter from the Straits in 1579 and before that of Drake towards the end of 1580. Its details about the topography and resources of the Straits were obtained from interrogations of Winter's men. The present writer would suggest that Hakluyt's authorship is not beyond doubt. The likeness of the handwriting does not appear conclusive, and the phraseology and mental approach seem not to resemble those of his later work. Other Englishmen had been thinking for some years of the project of seizing the Straits. Spaniards were impelled to do so by Drake's raid. While this English pamphlet was being written, Pedro Sarmiento was sailing south from Peru to examine the Straits and afterwards to plant in them the settlement which endured for a brief season of misery and ended with the loss of almost every man concerned.

If Hakluyt wrote the Magellan pamphlet it was a false start, for he never again showed much concern with the possibilities of the South Sea. The northern passages made more appeal to him, and in 1580 the Muscovy Company was preparing the

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expedition under Pett and Jackman which it was hoped would solve the problem of the North-East. Hakluyt had a hand in this, in addition to his lawyer cousin, whose part has already been mentioned; for Hakluyt wrote to the great Mercator at Duisburg to ask his opinion about the trend of the unexplored portion of the Siberian coast. The reply came too late to be available to the expedition, but the incident is noteworthy as marking the admittance of Hakluyt into the fraternity of European cosmographers; for Mercator, the head of the profession, answered graciously.

North America, his greatest interest, engaged him at the same time. Sir Humphrey Gilbert had been drawn to it by his early advocacy of the North-West Passage, and was now the holder of a patent empowering him to colonize any of its regions not already in the possession of Spain, regions, that is, to the north of Florida and Mexico. Gilbert had difficulty in raising funds, and the project was in need of publicity. Hakluyt began by inspiring an Oxford friend of his, John Florio, an Italian man of letters, to translate into English from the Italian of Giambattista Ramusio the narrative of Jacques Cartier's first two voyages into Canada. Florio, not himself a cosmographer, did this as a professional job, the charges being defrayed by Hakluyt and his associates. Florio's dedication of the volume 'to all Gentlemen, Merchants and Pilots' bears the stamp of Hakluyt's thought, for it sets forth very ably the programme of the English colonizing party, and takes care to mention the English priority in discovery resting on the voyages led by the Cabots. Save for the actual translation, the work has every appearance of being Hakluyt's. His modesty in not securing any mention of his own name was to be repeated on subsequent occasions when he procured the publication of English versions of foreign books.

He was not satisfied with bringing to notice one episode in the North American story, and was soon at work on a more general volume which was to be all his own. This was *Divers*

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Voyages touching the Discovery of America, published in 1582, the first of the three collections of increasing scope and magnitude on which his reputation was always based until the research of modern historians revealed that they were accompanied by much other work for which he omitted to claim public credit. *Divers Voyages* was propaganda for Gilbert, with whom were associated Walsingham, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir George Peckham, Christopher Carleill, John Dee, Sir Walter Raleigh and other enterprising men. It did not, of course, give prominence to Gilbert's name or particularize his intentions, for foreigners were listening. But it did familiarize the reading public with the idea of an English dominion in North America.

The *Divers Voyages* opens with evidence of the English title to North America from 30° N. to 67° N., based upon the letters patent granted to John Cabot and his sons by Henry VII and their exploration of the coast between the above-named limits. Hakluyt had the modern historian's respect for original documents and transcribed the patent in full. He took the account of Sebastian Cabot's voyage from the Italian of Ramusio, but he added research of his own which revealed some further evidence in the London chronicle of Robert Fabyan. Next came some more hitherto unpublished matter of importance in the shape of the 'Letter to Doctor Lee' written by Robert Thorne from Seville in 1527 and 'The Declaration of the Indies' addressed by Thorne to Henry VIII a little later. These documents were in the possession of a merchant family named Lucar, perhaps of Spanish extraction, settled in London and known to Hakluyt. By printing them he rendered a service not only to propaganda but to history, for they are a valuable link in the chain of evidence on the development of English empire-building projects. He reproduced also the account of the North American coasting voyage of 1524 made by Giovanni Verrazzano in the French service. Since this had been subsequent to the Cabot exploration and covered part of the same ground, it did

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not weaken the English title to prior discovery. The Verrazzano voyage was important to the question of a westward passage to Asia, for its commander asserted that in the neighbourhood of what we know as Chesapeake Bay the continent was narrowed to an isthmus by the eastward projection of a great arm of the Pacific, cutting right across North America and almost reaching the Atlantic. If true, it would have provided an easier transhipment for trade between the two oceans than the Spaniards enjoyed at Panama.

A transhipment was only one possibility, and Hakluyt believed, as most others did, that an uninterrupted North-West Passage existed and that Sebastian Cabot had discovered the entrance to it. He hinted that Frobisher might have completed the task if his enterprise had not broken down into a disastrous gold-hunt in the North-West. As a contribution, new to England, on the north-western problem he printed the account of a supposed fourteenth-century voyage by Nicolo and Antonio Zeno, which gave colour to Sebastian Cabot's assertion that the northern parts of America were all islands, intersected by the Passage. The voyage of the *Zeni* is now considered a sixteenth-century forgery, but it was then accepted as genuine. Further, as a visual encouragement to the north-western faith, he included a map specially drawn by Michael Lok, showing an open North-West Passage and also the isthmus of Verrazzano, whose original map was in Lok's possession.

Reverting to the land prospects, the volume included a Florida account by Jean Ribault and a reminder of the recent publication of the Jacques Cartier voyages by Hakluyt's initiative. For prospective colonists there was also an optimistic list of valuable products to be had in North America. Hakluyt tied all these appeals together in the first of the many prefaces (unless Florio's was indeed Hakluyt's) with which he was to introduce his volumes, setting forth in lucid, dignified and hard-hitting prose the aims which he advocated for his country. These, in 1582,

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he stated as colonization to relieve social distress; the finding of the North-West Passage; and the improvement of navigation by the establishment of a proper school of instruction.

The *Divers Voyages* was new of its kind and an admirable piece of work for the purpose in view, to interest intelligent men in a particular enterprise about to be attempted. It was of varied material and short enough (120 pages) to be read by those who lacked the application and leisure of the scholar. Its patriotism was implicit rather than prominent, its construction appealed to the English instinct for building on the past, its history was enterprising and honestly employed. In all his life it never occurred to Hakluyt to pervert his reasoning or fabricate his evidence. He had certainly done his best for Gilbert's undertaking.

Gilbert sailed next year, looked at Newfoundland, and decided to plant his colony on the coast to the southward. The wreck of his largest ship and loss of nearly all the colonists frustrated his intention. He turned homewards and was drowned in mid-Atlantic by the foundering of the *Squirrel*. Hakluyt had been willing to adventure with him, and did preserve for posterity the history of the voyage by Edward Haie, whose prose has a flavour of immortality in keeping with the jewel which it enshrines, the last recorded words of Gilbert himself. When it was certain that there was no hope of Gilbert's survival, the leadership of the colonial enterprise was taken up by Raleigh, who had different ideas on the methods of its accomplishment.

Meanwhile Hakluyt had a new employment. He was now an acknowledged servant of the State in the unofficial manner characteristic of so many Elizabethan careers. The oceanic group were particularly Walsingham's men, and Walsingham as Secretary of State was responsible for the diplomatic service also. In 1583 he appointed Hakluyt chaplain of the English embassy in Paris, and it was this that caused Hakluyt's relinquishment of the hope of following Gilbert across the Atlantic. Diplomatic

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circles in Paris were a nest of spies and intriguers, and Walsingham no doubt looked for useful secret service from an honest man like Hakluyt. Perhaps he had it. There is not much evidence, but that is as it should be, for Hakluyt was prudent as well as single-minded, and was unlikely to commit secrets unnecessarily to paper. He made several visits to London, and doubtless gave oral reports to the Minister. The more ostensible reason for his appointment lay in his special qualifications, for the French were then keenly interested in colonial plans and there was much to be learnt from the Portuguese who were gathered in Paris. They were the refugees who would not accept Philip's domination, and some of them were ex-officials from the eastern possessions. Don Antonio, their exiled king, divided his time between Paris and London.

In the summer of 1584 Hakluyt visited London, where Raleigh engaged him to aid the American project in its new form. The result was the *Discourse of the Western Planting*, Hakluyt's longest piece of continuous writing, different in literary character from the editorial work which occupied most of his career. *Western Planting*, although full of interest, has not been widely read, for it was not designed as a publication and in fact did not come into print until 1877, nearly three hundred years after it was written. A more correct version, with valuable elucidations, was included by Professor Taylor in her two volumes of the original writings of the Hakluyts published by the Society in 1935. The work was not published in its author's time because it was a State document, intended primarily for the Queen's information, and containing many things which it was not advisable to impart to a rival France and a hostile Spain. Professor G. B. Parks estimates that no more than five copies were made, of which two survive.

Raleigh, like Gilbert, had obtained a patent empowering him to colonize in America at his own adventure. He was ready to act as the pioneer, and had sent out two small ships to examine

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the coast in 1584. But he and Hakluyt were agreed that the enterprise, as they conceived it, was too great for the resources of private men. Gilbert had been favoured by authority but he had failed to attract sufficient financial support, and had spent years in raising a few grudging subscriptions. Raleigh and Hakluyt—it is impossible in this matter to say which was the more constructive mind—were not content to settle a few hundred men and then to watch the experiment fail for lack of sustained expenditure. They were bent on a national effort on the great scale, with State finance and the prestige of the Crown involved. That is the core of the arguments in *Western Planting*. There must be mass emigration, several settlements, careful building up of the society of each with all kinds of craftsmen, merchants, clergymen, soldiers and leaders, so that a true branch of the nation might be founded, to prosper inordinately in a spacious fertile land where all kinds of raw materials might be had for the gathering. There was only one possible head of the enterprise, the Queen. It would need as powerful administration as the State could give. To us who know the history of the ensuing centuries, as these men could not, and who realize that they had no experience to build upon, it is remarkable how advanced some of the thinking is. On the social side Hakluyt reminds us of the doctrines of Gibbon Wakefield. On the economic he is of course entirely mercantilist, as was every economist of his time. On the political he takes it for granted that the colonies will be, like the mother country, under the direct administration of the Crown; the idea of separate self-government had not occurred to him. A united nation would occupy the two sides of the Atlantic, with enhanced wealth and power and with its sovereign second to none among the princes of Christendom.

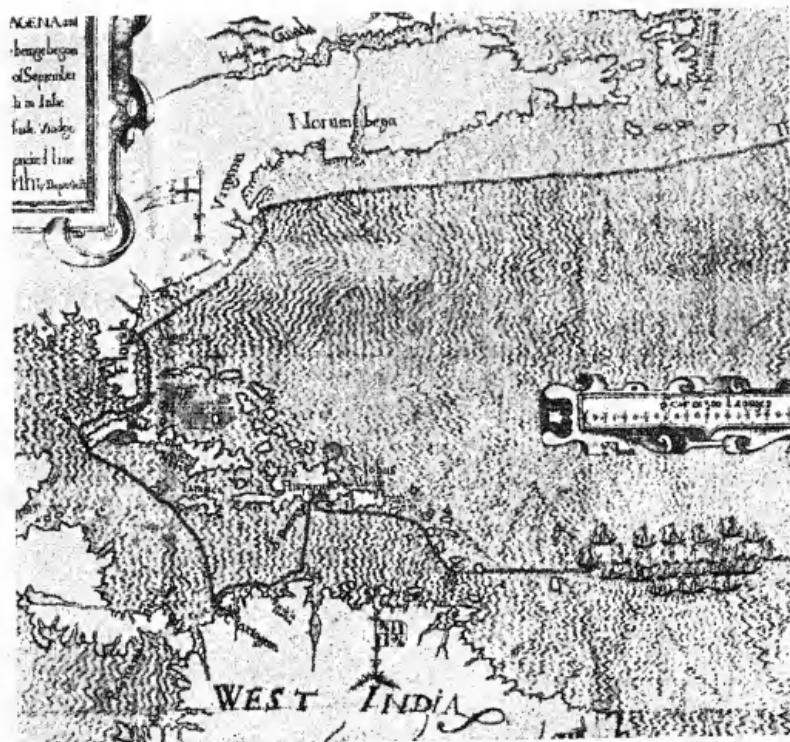
It was, therefore, to the conversion of the Queen that Hakluyt bent his literary skill. He did it in a manner worthy of the cause. In his twenty-one chapters he marshalled every argument known

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to the colonial school of thought: the propagation of the Gospel and strengthening of the Protestant position, the relief of English poverty by the emigration of many and by added employment for those who should remain, the increase of military power by the training of soldiers in the defence of the colonies, the increase of naval power by the call for more seamen and larger merchant ships, the increase of wealth by the production of goods hitherto purchased from foreigners, the expansion of trade by the sale of manufactures to the American natives, the growth of the Queen's revenue, the opening of a new Asiatic trade with the discovery of the North-West Passage completed by the new colonies; and, at great length, the abatement of the power of Spain, by this time regarded as an open enemy. Colonies on the American seaboard would be naval bases for the interception of the plate-fleets. Armed forces from the colonies would join the discontented Indians of Spanish America, and the Cimaroons who had so long held out in the isthmus of Panama. The Spanish treasure route would be cut, and England perhaps would in the end enjoy the mines.

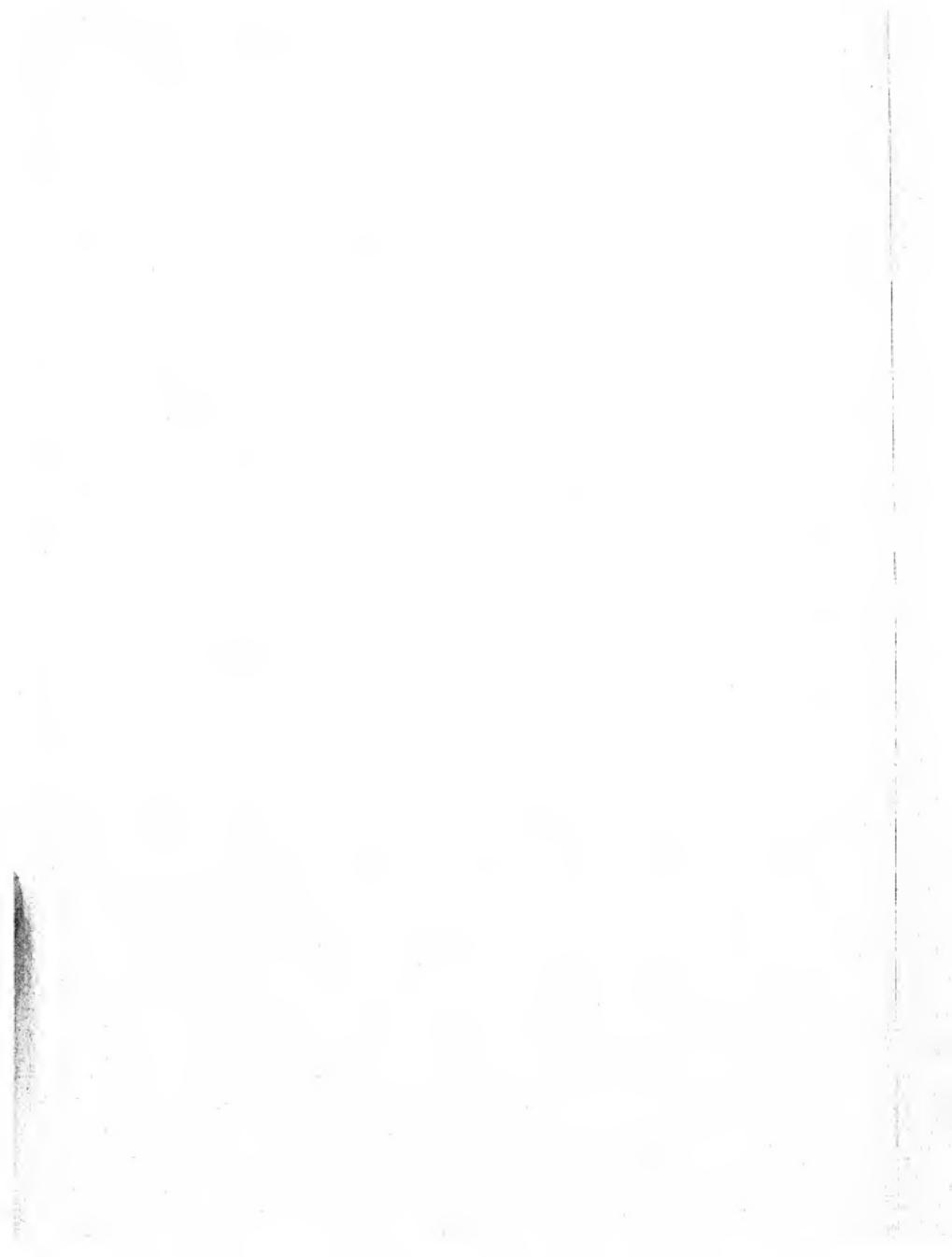
The Queen in person accepted the manuscript from Hakluyt's hand, and bestowed upon him a clerical sinecure at Bristol. Perhaps she read it all, but her comment is not on record. Her decision is. She would not act. Raleigh was left to make his single-handed effort, crippled beyond his expectation by the outbreak of war in the following year. Of the Ministers we may suppose that Walsingham favoured the plan, and Burghley probably not. As the next century was to teach, it would have been a huge gamble, with the odds against success. It needed a hundred years of repeated effort and little cumulative successes to build up the American colonies to the strength that Hakluyt imagined as the achievement of his own generation. Elizabeth's England could hardly have done it, even without the Spanish war. The war lasted nineteen years and suspended all such schemes. The *Discourse of the Western Planting* failed to move

PLATE II



Drake's fleet on its homeward voyage from the West Indies in 1586

The fleet is shown rescuing the survivors of the first Virginian colony



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its royal reader. It was unknown to the men who made seventeenth-century America. It is worth reading now as a fascinating essay in planning, wisely rejected.

Hakluyt went back to Paris, where the scoffing remarks of the French and Portuguese at the failure of England to rise to her opportunities aroused his national feeling and set him to work on a new project of enormous scope. The work was to be editorial and public like the *Divers Voyages*, nothing less than a complete collection of all the English travels and explorations by sea and land since the beginning of English history. Hakluyt interpreted his subject widely, including expeditions, the records of merchant companies, charters and patents, and the adventures of individuals making their way about the world alone. He gave also some foreign expeditions which formed landmarks of exploration. We do not know when he began the work, but the preparatory stage must have taken some years. Material had to be found and translated from foreign books, to be gained by correspondence and interview, and to be copied from State records. Lack of public libraries and catalogues and the slowness and expense of communications rendered the task more laborious than it would be now; and even now a scholar would produce such a book only after the work of years. He had other things to attend to at the same time, his duties at the embassy, and his promotion of independent publications on his chosen subject.

These publications were important. The French had more North American experience than we had, and Hakluyt had already procured the publication of Cartier's Canadian expeditions. He now searched for and brought to light the full story of the Florida colony, planted by the Huguenots in the fifteen-sixties and exterminated in massacre by a Spanish force before it had reached any development. He published it in French through the agency of one Basanier in 1586, and in English with a text of his own translation in the following year.

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He had thus given his fellow-countrymen some sound information on Canada and Florida, between which lay the coastline marked down by Gilbert and Raleigh as the scene of English enterprise. He went further, and published, again in French and in English (in 1586 and 1587), translations of the Spaniard Espejo's discoveries in New Mexico, the best information available on the American interior. His largest work of this sort was the republication of the whole of Peter Martyr's *Decades of the New World*, of which Eden had translated less than half in 1555. Martyr's writings formed the best complete history of the Spanish discoveries up to 1524. The original and only full edition was nearly sixty years old and almost unobtainable. Hakluyt carefully edited the new version and provided an excellent map. It was published in Latin at Paris in 1587, with a dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh. None of these books paid its way, so small was the book-buying public. Hakluyt laboured gratuitously and financed them out of his own pocket. So did he justify his Bristol prebend and his rectory of Wetheringsett, which he received a little later. He remained a comparatively poor man until Sir Robert Cecil made some further provision for him at the end of the century.

Amid all these employments the preparation of the great work went on. Much of the material must already have been in shape when Hakluyt finally came home from Paris towards the close of 1588. What sort of summer he had spent there can probably be best appreciated by Englishmen who were overseas in the summer of 1940. To the continental world England in the Armada year was as good as done for. So incredible did the actual result appear that the continent at first could hardly believe it, and glowing accounts of the Armada's glories were in circulation when its shattered remnants were on their fatal homeward voyage. Work was the best refuge from anxious thought, and Hakluyt must have worked. For it needed a bare twelve months after his return to round off the manuscript of

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three-quarters of a million words, arrange for the printing, correct the proofs, and see the whole through to triumphant publication in the winter of 1589.

The title, cumbrous as it seems now, is an epitome of Hakluyt's rolling style: *The principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoueries of the English nation, made by Sea or over Land, in the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1500 yeeres.* He was conscious of having done something epoch-making, and did not spare to introduce it impressively. Within the covers came first an Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Francis Walsingham, beginning with the passage quoted earlier in this paper on the author's first approach to cosmography; and then a Preface to the Reader explaining the plan of the work and the method of its compilation. The method was that of the historian: recourse as near to the original statements of evidence as it was possible to get and citation of the originators by name. The plan was a division into three sections: first, the voyages to the south and south-east, which were mainly, up to that date, those to Africa, the Mediterranean, and Levantine Asia; second, those to the north and north-east, the most important being the expeditions of the Muscovy Company, with their extensions into central Asia and Persia under the leadership of Anthony Jenkinson; third and largest, those to the west, the America which was the goal of the editor's own ambition.

Such was the first version of Hakluyt's *Voyages*, 825 pages of quarto, closely printed in black letter: Its nature and effects will be discussed later. For, if it is to be ranked as a separate book, its author superseded it ten years later with a much larger work under an almost identical title. The later *Voyages* was, indeed, more than a new edition, but it was grafted on the earlier, and it is best to consider them together.

At the time, no doubt, Hakluyt regarded the 1589 collection as final, and he turned to give assistance to a great international

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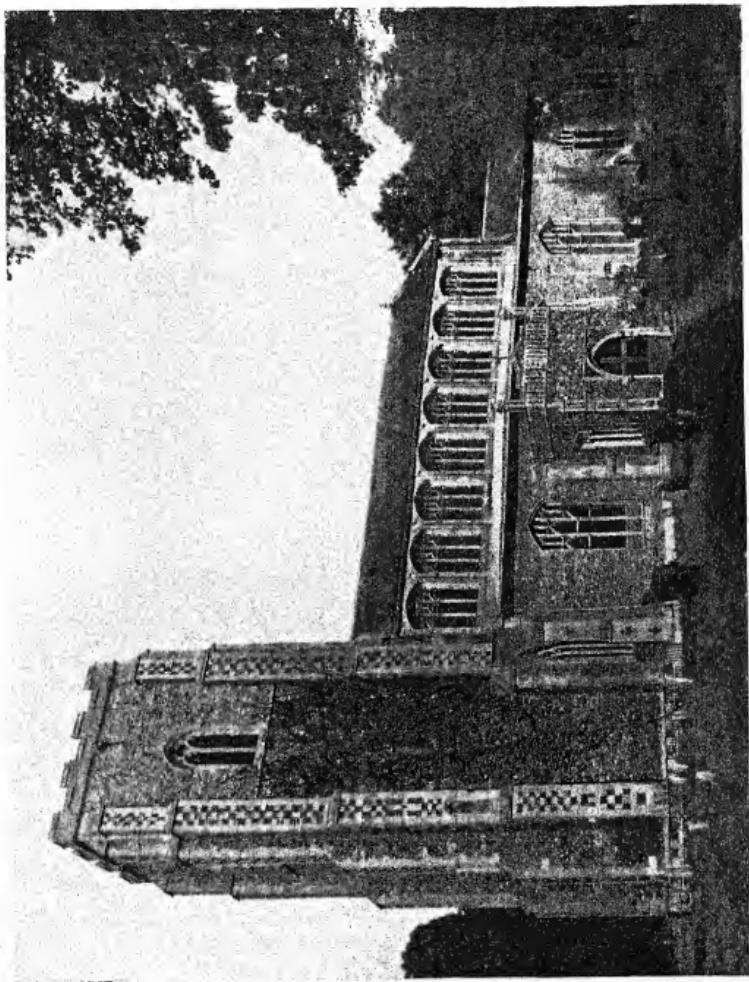
collection of voyages, the *Peregrinations* brought out in many volumes at Frankfort-on-the-Main by the Dutchman Theodore de Bry and his sons. De Bry aimed at the reading public of all Europe by providing it with a choice of English, French, German and Latin versions of the text. But his chief interest was in first-class illustrations, for which English printing had not at that time acquired the necessary technique. So it came about that the fine water-colour drawings made by John White in Raleigh's Virginia were engraved and printed in a foreign work.¹ Hakluyt introduced De Bry to this material together with Thomas Hariot's report on the country, and the result of his initiative was that the first volume of one of the most widely circulated of the great books of Europe was devoted to the enterprise of England in North America. Hakluyt himself made the translation of the English version from the Latin archetype. A man of narrow nationalism might have been short-sighted enough to refuse cooperation with a foreigner in his field. Hakluyt knew no such limitation, and was able to secure excellent international publicity for what he once described as 'the worthy acts' of his countrymen.

After this he took a few years' rest from production, although not from accumulation of new material. He obtained the benefice of Wetheringsett in 1590 and possibly was married in the same year. His wife was a relative of Thomas Cavendish, the circumnavigator. She died in 1597, leaving a son Edmond who is faintly discernible as a young man in the reign of James I pursuing a scholarly career at Cambridge, and thereafter is unrecorded. In 1604 Hakluyt married a widow who outlived him.

Apart from one or two inconclusive visits to the coast, the Virginia enterprise was suspended for the duration of the Spanish war. Hakluyt never lost faith in it, and took part in its revival under James I. But in the meantime another interest grew insistent, that of establishing an English trade with southern

¹ The originals are in the British Museum.

PLATE III



Wetheringsett Church



Richard Hakluyt

Asia by way of the Cape. The story of Drake's circumnavigation had comprised more than one State secret and was never fully revealed. That of Cavendish was a plainer tale and had come to hand just in time for inclusion in the 1589 *Voyages*. In the nineties the East Indian project took the place occupied by the Virginian in the eighties. Drake and Cavendish had both come back from voyages through the Indian seas. Ralph Fitch came home in 1591 after years of land travel through India, Burma and Malaya; James Lancaster and Benjamin Wood led new expeditions by sea, the first to return with a handful of survivors, the second to perish with all his men. John Davis, the veteran of the North-West, went out with a Dutch expedition to learn the trade. Dutch activity, beginning in 1595, grew at a phenomenal rate. The trained eye of Hakluyt perceived that England had to learn from the Dutch or be left behind. In 1598 he came back to publication after his Paris manner, by inducing a London printer to bring out English translations of the pioneer Dutch voyage of 1595 and of Jan Huyghen van Linschoten's valuable description of the East from personal experience in several years of travel. Hakluyt was becoming involved with Asia, and the East India Company was soon to be founded.

The negotiations between the government and the prospective East India merchants were prolonged because their issue depended on peace negotiations with Spain which were going on in 1599. When these failed the way was clear for the granting of the East India charter, which was formally completed on the last day of 1600. During all this time there was much consulting and drawing up of proposals. Hakluyt was frequently called in, for the sake of his comprehensive knowledge of former voyages and of eastern topography and commodities. The connection was maintained, and he became the permanent consultant of the East India Company on such matters. His *Voyages* became an item of the ships' stores, copies being supplied to all the expeditions. On one occasion their

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information was reckoned to have saved the Company several thousand pounds.

The Book—they spelt it reverently with a capital—was the final collection, the crown of Hakluyt's career. The three sections of 1589 were now three volumes, and the amount of material was much more than doubled. The first volume, with a dedication to Lord Howard, and containing the voyages to the north and north-east, came out in 1598, with a reissue in the following year. The second and third were dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil and published in 1599 and 1600 respectively. The second contained the voyages to the south and south-east, and the third those to America. In addition to the dedications the first volume had a preface to the reader. These four essays make excellent reading as examples of Hakluyt's matured style and statements of his purposes.

As an illustration the following passage may be quoted from the address to Howard, on a subject which Hakluyt had always held to be a key to successful expansion:

And here by the way most humbly craving pardon, and always submitting my poore opinion to your Lordships most deep and percing insight, especially in this matter, as being the father and principall favourer of the English Navigation, I trust it shall not be impertinent in passing by, to point at the meanes of breeding up of skillful Sea-men and Mariners in this Realme. Sithence your Lordship is not ignorant, that ships are to little purpose without skillful Sea-men; and since Sea-men are not bred up to perfection of skill in much lesse time (as it is said) then in the time of two prentiships;¹ and since no kind of men of any profession in the common wealth passe their yeres in so great and continuall hazard of life; and since of so many, so few grow to gray heires; how needfull it is, that by way of Lectures and such like instructions, these ought to have a better education, then hitherto they have had; all wise men may easily judge. When I call to minde, how many noble ships have

¹ I.e. fourteen years.

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bene lost, how many worthy persons have bene drenched in the sea, and how greatly this Realme hath bene impoverished by losse of great Ordinance and other rich commodities through the ignorance of our Sea-men, I have greatly wished there were a Lecture of Navigation read in this Citie, for the banishing of our former grosse ignorance in Marine causes, and for the increase and generall multiplying of the sea-knowledge in this age, wherein God hath raised so generall a desire in the youth of this Realme to discover all parts of the face of the earth, to this Realme in former ages not knownen.

In the three volumes the variety of subject-matter already noted was maintained and extended. Almost everything that Hakluyt had included in the 1582 and 1589 collections was reprinted, some exceptions being made for 'incredibility'. On that ground there were omissions, notably the spurious fourteenth-century travels of Sir John Mandeville and the story of David Ingram, one of Hawkins's men set ashore in Mexico, who claimed to have tramped across the continent to Cape Breton and could hardly have done it in the time. But the great body of Hakluyt's research was reproduced. The new material gathered since 1589 included additions to every section, with new categories in the records of the recent naval campaigns and the East Indian voyages. In handling the naval story it was possible to give offence, as is instanced by the excision of any account of the Cadiz expedition from the 1599 reissue of the first volume.¹ It was possibly some false step of this sort that alienated Howard and caused Hakluyt to seek Cecil's patronage for the second and third volumes.

In the final *Voyages* Hakluyt created a living book which is bought and read to this day. Some hold that he was less than a historian because he did not smelt his material and work it up into a narrative of his own composition. The answer is that

¹ The Cadiz expedition, although in the main a brilliant success, caused violent wrangling among the great persons concerned. No account could have satisfied them all. Hakluyt felt obliged to omit the topic.

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he did better. He placed the story on record in a form more valuable to his own time and to posterity than could have been attained by any personal compilation. Although he had the historian's qualifications, thoroughness, flair for research, disciplined imagination, judgement, and a fine prose style, he chose the other course deliberately, if we may so read his disparagement of 'certain weary volumes' of normal historical form, among which he probably had in mind the insipid writings of André Thevet, the geographer-royal of France. Hakluyt would have written better than Thevet, but he decided against it. The historian's ordinary function is to make intelligible to his public material which they would otherwise fail to understand or would find too voluminous, repetitive, obscure and wearisome to read. Most of Hakluyt's material was not of this dull sort. It was already history, and history in several varieties. He had the good sense to leave it as it stood save for the minor trimming and polishing of editorship. It was not ore but shining gold which he discovered and handed untransmuted to his country. The phrase which Oliver Cromwell used of Raleigh's *History of the World*, 'a body of History', might well have been applied to Hakluyt's *Voyages*.

Hakluyt was nearly fifty when the great work was completed. He had sixteen years before him of 'afternoon and evening', of easy circumstances, dignified activity and assured position. He may well have been content, for the world in those first years of the new century was going his way. The East India Company was launched and Virginia refounded, and in both he played a responsible part. The Elizabethan doubts and fears were ended with the war. Spain was foiled, and Protestant England secure. With Robert Cecil guiding the new reign none could yet foresee the tragedy of Stuart rule. To him personally Cecil was a good friend, getting for him a canonry at Westminster and a chaplaincy in the Savoy. It was no more than a just reward, but a man who does great work for its own sake

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is fortunate if it is rewarded. Family properties fell in to him also, and a relative presented him to a benefice in Lincolnshire which he held without relinquishing Wetheringsett. That his health was good is evidenced by his intention to accompany the new Virginia colonists of 1606 to Chesapeake Bay. He obtained a dispensation to serve there as chaplain without resigning his preferments in England, but in the end he did not go. He was busied with so many things that it was hard to break away.

He went on publishing and inspiring publications, mainly on America and the East Indies. Professor Parks gives details of seven such works from 1601 to 1612, ending with the classic of Peter Martyr at length completely translated into English from Hakluyt's Latin edition of twenty-five years earlier. He collected manuscripts assiduously for a further reissue of the *Voyages*. But here there was no finality, and it was difficult to decide when to print. He left it too long, and the manuscripts fell to Samuel Purchas, his literary heir, who used them, less wisely than Hakluyt would have done, in his *Pilgrims* of 1625. But we owe a debt to Purchas for preserving anything; so many priceless manuscripts collected by scholars have been destroyed by their relatives. Hakluyt's only son Edmond appears to have been quite unresponsive to the interests that had made his father's life.

Richard Hakluyt made his will in 1612. By then his health may have been failing, for thereafter there is little record of his customary activity, nothing more than his recommending the East India Company to print a Malayan phrase-book in 1613-14. On 23 November 1616 he died in London and was buried in the Abbey. If his widow erected any memorial, it has not survived, and the position of the grave is unknown.

Hakluyt is known to-day by the final *Voyages*. All his other work was for his own generation, and much of it was forgotten

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until rediscovered by modern research. The *Voyages* have had periods of recognition and eclipse. For the first half, perhaps, of the seventeenth century they (with Purchas's *Pilgrims*, in part their continuation) continued to be read for the practical reason that their information was valuable to ocean traders and explorers. This was especially true of the venturers to the East and of the leaders of the numerous quests for the North-West Passage, which continued until 1631. Then, as new knowledge accrued, the old lost some of its importance and became pure history without the element of up-to-date geography. The change occurred also in respect of North America, where colonists on the spot discovered much that rendered obsolete the Elizabethan geography and propaganda. During the Interregnum and the later Stuart period a varied output of what American students call 'promotion literature' succeeded Hakluyt's ordered body of knowledge. It consisted largely of tracts and pamphlets advocating particular projects or policies for the benefit of sectional interests. Commerce in the East and colonies in the West were by now firmly founded, while the North-West Passage had been given up as hopeless, and the South Sea, once an Elizabethan interest, was forgotten.

Pamphlets on oceanic money-making found readers, but oceanic history as such lost its hold on a public whose historical outlook had become political amid the revolutions of the Stuart period. Hakluyt was less read. The *Voyages* were remembered by literary men, but by the reign of Anne had become a rare book; and there had been no reprint.

From 1697 onwards the writings of William Dampier created a new oceanic interest among the public. But it was devoted to the South Sea, the Pacific Ocean which had attracted Drake and some of the Elizabethans, although not Hakluyt. He had had little to say about Drake's great voyage and nothing about Grenville's plan for colonizing Terra Australis Incognita. In the eighteenth century, with America colonized, the South Sea

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was the remaining great area of mystery apart from the frozen poles. Collections of voyages again grew popular, and continued to be throughout the century. Although they revived some of Hakluyt's material the South Sea was their chief topic, culminating with the discoveries of Cook and the plans for new southern empire-building towards the century's close.

The revelation of the Pacific was a practical interest to which Hakluyt's work had not much to contribute. When it was satisfied there was something left which had run concurrently through the eighteenth century and was to grow stronger in the nineteenth, the taste for voyages and travels for their own sakes, irrespective of the public policies involved. Hakluyt at length came back to satisfy an intellectual need. In 1809-12, two centuries after his great work had been completed, it was reprinted for the first time. Another generation passed, and the Hakluyt Society was founded, with an achievement that aided powerfully in founding the study of oceanic history as an essential chapter in the record of mankind.

The synthesis of oceanic history and the broadening of the historical conspectus of the modern world have been the work of the past fifty years. We have seen taking shape a view of human development that would have read strangely a century ago. Step follows step in a procession of fate that involves us all. From the restless Europe of the Renaissance, refusing to be bound by old ways, came the great oceanic discoveries revealing treasure to tempt adventurers. Conquerors and priests went out to rivet Europe's domination and spread her religion. New long-distance trades accumulated fluid capital, so much more powerful than the old static capital of landed estate. Plantation colonies and Asiatic empire increased this wealth, which then found a new function in financing the industrial revolution at home. Private capitalism and free enterprise in the industrial nineteenth century altered the world's aspect and conferred prosperity and a better life upon its peoples. But they did more.

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They prepared the way for the State capitalism, the mechanized society and the erosion of liberty which have characterized the first half of the present century. Can that be the end to which Hakluyt's heroes worked?

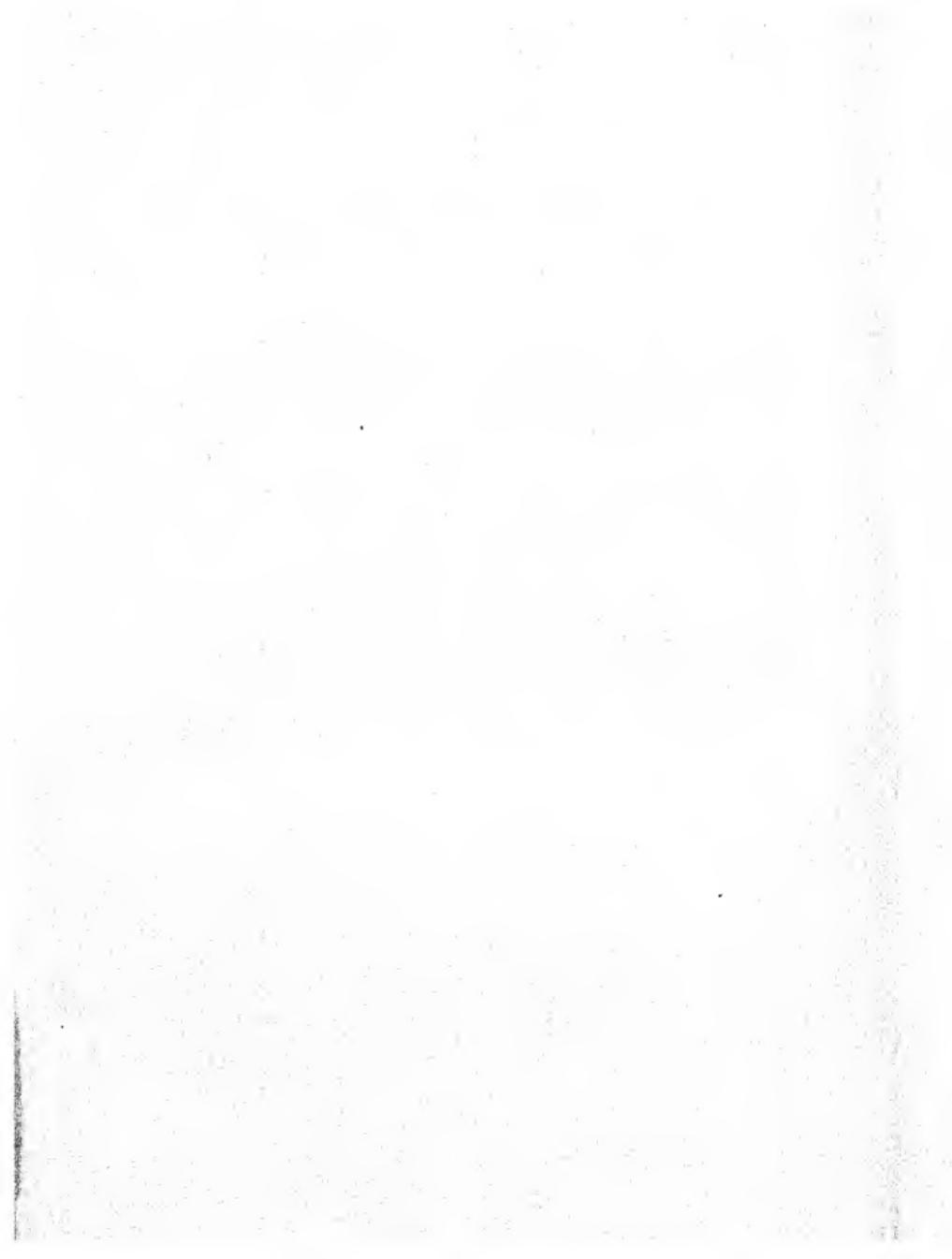
The foregoing sketch is based upon the research of two modern investigators who have between them revealed all that is known on the subject. They are Professor George Bruner Parks of Washington University, St Louis, who wrote the first and only complete life of Hakluyt (*Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, American Geographical Society, New York, 1930), and Professor E. G. R. Taylor of the University of London, who collected and edited the texts of all the pieces, large and small, known to have been personally written by Hakluyt and his lawyer cousin (*The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 2 vols., Hakluyt Society, 1935). So thorough is the documentary research and so wide the knowledge of the period embodied in both the above works that the author of the present paper is bound to express his full indebtedness to both of them.

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II

SAMUEL PURCHAS

By SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E.



SAMUEL PURCHAS¹

The mantle of Hakluyt fell upon—or perhaps we should say was assumed by—a younger member of the same profession, the Rev. Samuel Purchas. But to wear a giant's robe in seemly fashion one needs a giant's stature, and in this respect the newcomer was sadly deficient. The two men were entirely different. Hakluyt was of the age of Elizabeth, of Drake and Raleigh; Purchas of that of James I and Tom Coryat. The one was grave, sensible, restrained, and his labours were animated by a desire to benefit his fellow-countrymen by the promotion of commerce and manufactures and the spread of colonization. The other was fussy and egotistic, with a craving for notoriety that showed itself by the weaving of his name into the titles of his various books and the display of his portrait in a prominent position on the title page of the largest. As regards his literary work Sir John Laughton, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, wrote: 'a comparison of what he has printed with such originals as remain shows that he was very far indeed from a faithful editor or a judicious compiler, and that he took little pains to arrive at an accurate knowledge of facts.' However, credit is certainly due to him for the devotion with which he laboured at his gigantic task, in spite of ill-health and narrow means, and, when all is said, we owe him a heavy debt of gratitude for having preserved for us a mass of precious material that otherwise would probably have been lost.

Before dealing with his career, a few words may be said concerning the pronunciation of his name. Dr Williamson has remarked upon the difficulty experienced by a modern reader in deciding how to pronounce 'Hakluyt'; but 'Purchas' pro-

¹ This is a revised and expanded version of an article contributed to the *Geographical Journal* in September 1926, on the occasion of the tercentenary of Purchas's death.

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vides a more subtle trap, inasmuch as it is clear from contemporary evidence that the *ch* was the remains of a guttural which had settled down into a *k* (as in 'archangel'), and that consequently the name was pronounced 'Purkas'. In 1615 Coryat sent his commendations to 'Samuel Purkas' (*Thomas Coriate, Traveller, for the English Wits: Greeting*, p. 45); in 1623 Sanderson addressed him as 'Master Purcus', though later, in his will (possibly dictated), he employed the more usual form (*Travels of John Sanderson*, pp. 34, 276); in two entries in the Court Minutes of the East India Company the name is spelt 'Purkas'; the entry of his *Pilgrimage* in the registers of the Stationers' Company gives it as 'Purcas'; and finally, the anagram (*pars sua celum*) placed beneath the author's portrait on the title page of the *Pilgrimes* is there transliterated as 'Samuel Purcas'. In the form of 'Purchas' the name still lingers amongst us, and I am told that those who bear it pronounce it as spelt; but a commoner form is 'Purkis' or 'Purkiss', and this clearly reflects the old pronunciation.

Some doubt has been felt as to the date of Purchas's birth. The prefatory note in the Glasgow reprint of the *Pilgrimes* declares it to be 'uncertain'. The *Dictionary of National Biography* assigns it, with a query, to 1575, apparently because in his marriage licence (1601) he is described as 'about twenty-seven'. This, however, was evidently a guess; and the statement on his portrait (already mentioned) that he was forty-eight in 1625 points to 1577 as the year of his birth. That that is the correct date is placed beyond doubt by Purchas's own statement (*Pilgrimes*, Glasgow reprint, vol. i, p. 106) that Dr Dee's work on navigation was published in 'the same yeere in which I was borne, A. 1577'. A closer approximation is afforded by the fact that the parish registers show that he was baptized on 20 November 1577, for at that time it was the regular practice to baptize soon after birth.

Apparently he came of humble stock, for his father is de-

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scribed as George Purchas, yeoman, of Thaxted, in Essex. Nevertheless, means were found to enable him to go to St John's College, Cambridge, where he took his M.A. degree in 1600 and afterwards proceeded to B.D. He commenced his clerical career in 1601 as curate of Purleigh, near Maldon, Essex. There he met and married Jane Lease, daughter of a Suffolk yeoman. In 1604 he became vicar of Eastwood, in the same county—a post which gave him opportunities of getting into touch with the seafaring population of Leigh, only two miles distant. Ten years later he migrated to the metropolis, having been appointed rector of St Martin's, Ludgate, and chaplain to George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury. These appointments he retained until his death.

Purchas 'commenced author' in 1613 by publishing a stout folio of about 800 pages, entitled *Purchas His Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all Ages and Places discovered from the Creation unto this Present*, and dedicated to his patron, the Archbishop. Though primarily concerned with religions and customs, it contains a good deal of geography, and even history; in fact, it is a kind of world gazetteer. As such it became immediately popular. A second edition appeared in 1614, and a third a year later. In 1619 came out another publication, *Purchas His Pilgrim: Microcosmus, or the Historie of Man*, a work, mainly religious, with which we are not here concerned.

Meanwhile the death of Archdeacon Hakluyt in 1616 had put an end to all hopes of that accomplished geographer producing a new edition or continuation of his *Principall Navigations of the English Nation*. He had, however, amassed, presumably for such a purpose, a considerable quantity of material, especially about the voyages to the Indies and to Virginia and the various expeditions in search of the North-East and North-West Passages: in fact, all the more important explorations made since the issue of the 1598–1600 edition of his great work. How

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this material passed into the possession of Purchas is uncertain, though attempts at explanation have not been wanting. Mr Bolton Corney, in his edition of *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton* (Hakluyt Society, 1855), declared that Hakluyt had nominated 'as his editorial successor' John Pory,¹ but that this project came to nothing, and 'about the year 1620, under circumstances which are nowhere distinctly stated, the collections formed by Hakluyt came into the hands of the Rev. Samuel Purchas'. Sir Clements Markham was bolder in his statements. According to him (*Memoir on the Indian Surveys*, p. 1) Hakluyt was appointed Historiographer to the East India Company in 1601, and consequently 'had the custody of all the journals of East India voyages'; on Hakluyt's death these journals were handed over to Purchas, 'no doubt with the consent of the Directors', and the death of Purchas, closely following that of Sir Thomas Smythe, the Governor of the Company, would 'possibly account for the loss of some of the earliest journals of the Company's voyages'. For all this I have been unable to find any warrant in the Company's records. The statement that Hakluyt was appointed Historiographer I have shown elsewhere (*John Company*, p. 4) to be based upon the misreading (by a previous writer) of a passage in the Court Minutes. There is no evidence that the journals were ever placed in his custody

¹ This statement was probably based upon the fact that in the dedication (1600) to Cecil of the third volume of the *Principall Navigations*, Hakluyt says: 'because long since I did foresee that my profession of divinitie, the care of my family, and other occasions might call and divert me from these kinde of endevours, I have for these three yeeres past encouraged and furthered in these studies of cosmographie and forren histories my very honest, industrious and learned friend, M. John Pory, one of special skill and extraordinary hope to performe great matters in the same and beneficial for the common wealth.' Pory, however, though at Hakluyt's suggestion he published a translation of Leo the Moor's *History and Description of Africa* (reprinted by the Hakluyt Society in 1895), seems to have been fonder of travelling than of writing. He left England in 1611, and was still abroad when Hakluyt drew up his will.

Samuel Purchas

or transferred to Purchas; and when the latter applied to the Company in 1622 for permission to make extracts from their records he was apparently a stranger to them, for he is spoken of as 'one Purchas, that wrote of the religions of all nations'. Moreover, the restrictions then placed upon the loan show that the Company were fully alive to the importance of preserving their journals; and as a matter of fact, several of those used by Purchas are still extant, while the loss of others is easily accounted for by the neglect with which such documents were treated by later generations. That Hakluyt was acquainted with Purchas is highly probable, in view of their common profession and their common interest in geographical matters; but that the former ever intended to entrust his materials to the latter is doubtful, in the absence of any mention of the matter in Hakluyt's will. On the whole it seems more likely that Purchas applied for them to Hakluyt's executors, who, having no use for such things, readily agreed to make them over. In his preface he hints that he acquired these materials 'not without hard conditions'; and it seems quite possible that he had in fact to pay for them.

Possessed of this addition to his own stock of materials, the reverend gentleman set about his task. But he did so in quite another spirit and in very different circumstances from those in which his predecessor had written. Hakluyt was at once intensely practical and intensely patriotic. Personal aggrandisement had no place in his thoughts, and probably he would never have set pen to paper had he not considered it the best means of promoting the objects he had at heart. In common with the best of his contemporaries, his one aim was to make England a great and prosperous country. To Englishmen of his generation there was ever present the menace of that sinister figure at Madrid, King alike of Spain and Portugal, and therefore claiming to be lord of both the Indies. England must be made capable of defying this potent monarch, the

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champion of Catholicism against the Protestantism so dear to most Englishmen; and for this purpose it was essential that she should acquire wealth by developing her industries and above all her foreign commerce. To promote the latter end became Hakluyt's life-work; and we catch glimpses of his elusive figure everywhere behind the merchants who found the money for voyages of exploration and the seamen who undertook to carry them out. A vital necessity was accurate knowledge of what had already been discovered, and it was here that Hakluyt found a special opportunity of assisting in the work. The publication of the *Principall Voyages* was only part of the help thus afforded, but it was of inestimable value, both in stimulating the national pride in past achievements and in furnishing practical guidance for further voyages. As regards the latter point, one instance may perhaps be given. Sir Thomas Smythe told Purchas that, had it not been for 'Mr Hackluits books of voyages', which, when Keeling's fleet of 1607 was in distress off the West African coast, guided them to seek supplies at Sierra Leone, the ships would have been compelled to return to England, and a loss of £20,000 would have been incurred.

By the time that Purchas set to work the aspect of affairs had changed. The Spanish monarch, though abating none of his claims, was on more or less friendly terms with England; while the power of the Portuguese in the East was steadily crumbling under the attacks of the Dutch, and English commerce with India was firmly established. Much attention was still being paid to voyages of discovery and geography generally; but the satisfaction of the demand for information on such topics had become a matter of literary rather than of patriotic interest. Purchas was ambitious of fame, and one suspects that he was by no means indifferent to the advantages likely to accrue from the publication of a notable book. A more modest man would have been content to confine himself to a continuation of his predecessor's work; a wiser one would at least have measured

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out the ground beforehand and have undertaken only as much as he could hope to perform efficiently and within a reasonable compass. He had over 175 manuscript accounts of voyages and travels, many of them lengthy, and thus had ample material for a work as long as Hakluyt's, if he had limited himself to an account of the expeditions that had taken place since the publication of the *Principall Navigations*. Instead of this, he planned a grandiose work, which should embrace all the chief voyages that had ever been made and should supersede not only Hakluyt but all other writers on the subject. So slight was his comprehension of what this would entail that he expected to get all his matter into two folio volumes; and it was not until he had been at work for some time that he found it necessary to split each of those volumes into two parts, thus doubling the size of the work. Even then travels in Europe proper, which he had intended to include, were crowded out; while many a precious manuscript was reduced almost to a skeleton in order to make room for a digest of a work already available in print. His lack of judgement was equally displayed in the manner in which he handled his 'confused chaos' (to use his own words) of materials. Hakluyt was an excellent editor; with calm good sense he pared away the superfluous, but never damaged the essential. Purchas, on the other hand, oppressed by the mass of his materials, slashed his narratives in a way that seems at times haphazard, retaining much that might well have been omitted and omitting much that was of importance. Many of his notes are trivial intrusions upon the reader; and most of his editorial contributions go unread.

We must, however, give him credit for having been indefatigable in his search for materials. In dedicating to the Archbishop of Canterbury the final edition of his *Pilgrimage* he says that he had drawn upon more than 1300 authors; and in addition to consulting all the printed works he could find, he sought diligently for manuscript accounts of recent voyages, besides

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obtaining oral testimonies from those who had taken part. To the East India Company he applied in February 1622 for permission to see such journals as were in the possession of that body, particularly that of Sir Thomas Roe. Apparently some objection was anticipated to the publication of details of the broils between the English and the Dutch; but on this point the reverend author was most accommodating, for he assured the Company that 'he will sett them downe otherwise then they lie in the journalls'. His application was granted, on condition that he extracted only 'that which is proper to a history and not prejudicall to the Companie', and as a further precaution, it was ordered that his notes should be perused by the Deputy Governor¹ before they were carried out of the house. Later, in October 1624, he begged for the loan of a further journal, and this was accorded upon his giving a receipt for it and undertaking to return it without undue delay.

It is time now to look at the work itself. According to the original plan, the first volume was to deal with the world as known to the ancients, the second with the regions more recently discovered. Roughly the arrangement was to be geographical; but since so much of the matter consisted of extracts from actual journals, a rigid adherence to this scheme proved to be impracticable. Much about southern Africa, for instance, was naturally to be found in the accounts of expeditions to the East Indies; nor could the voyages of circumnavigation be split up into the sections to which the various countries were allotted. Further, since the work had to be printed off in small instalments and was in the press nearly four years, materials that came to hand during that period had to be fitted in without regard to the original plan. Of the first volume the opening section or 'book' contains 'antiquities and generalities', including much

¹ This was Maurice (afterwards Sir Maurice) Abbot, brother of the Archbishop. It was he who had brought Purchas's application to the notice of the Company.

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about the religions of the world and a disquisition on the travels of the Apostles, in the course of which the author discusses the question whether America was then inhabited (concluding that probably it was not). This section, by the way, was one of the last to be compiled, with the result that it had to be paged separately and provided with a special index. The second book deals with voyages of circumnavigation; the third, fourth, and fifth with English voyages to the East Indies; the sixth and seventh with Africa; the eighth with Palestine and Turkey; the ninth with Persia, Arabia, India, and Africa; and the tenth with Japan, India, Persia, Turkey, the Malay Archipelago, and Brazil. This book, Purchas tells us, includes material that came to hand later, 'and is therefore rather a supply to all then any well-ordered part of the worke'. The second volume opens with two books devoted to travels in Tartary, China, Japan, and the Philippines. The third and fourth books relate the voyages in search of the North-East and North-West Passages, and deal also with Russia, Iceland, and Spitsbergen. The next three sections take us to the West Indies, Mexico, and South America. The eighth book not only deals with Florida, Mexico, Central America, and Canada, but makes a start with the Virginia voyages. The ninth continues the story of these, and includes also Gates's expedition to the Bermudas. Of the tenth the first part is devoted to New England, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland; while the second narrates the contest with Spain, including the fight with the Armada, Drake's expeditions to Portugal and Cadiz, and the voyage of the Earl of Essex to the Azores in 1597.

The illustrations consist mainly of maps, most of which were copied from Hondius, though other sources were also drawn upon, as in the case of Baffin's map of India. A special feature of the work is the engraved title-page. This contains, at the top, full-length figures of King James and Prince Charles on the one side, and of the late Queen Elizabeth and the late Prince Henry

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on the other. The space between them is filled with representations of the Israelites marching towards a vision of the New Jerusalem, of the Gunpowder Plot, and of the defeat of the Armada. The last mentioned is labelled *Dux femina facti*, and is evidently intended as a compliment to the late sovereign; while the inscription on the companion sketch (*Divinatio in labiis Regis*) shows that it was meant as a piece of flattery towards James I, who believed that the detection of the Plot was due to his perspicacity. At the bottom of the page, between maps of the two hemispheres, is a portrait of the author. Below this again appears the publisher's mark: 'Imprinted at London for Henry Fetherston, at the signe of the Rose in Pauls Churchyard, 1625.' The centre of the page is occupied by the title of the work, set forth at great length; and this is flanked on either side by two series of medallion portraits, thirty in all, of famous travellers and voyagers, beginning with Noah (represented by his ark) and going down, through Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander the Great, the Apostles, Tamberlain, King Canute, Richard I, Columbus, Cabot, and Magellan, to Drake, John Davis, and other of his contemporaries. This remarkable piece of ingenuity is missing in most of the extant copies of the work, though in some cases it has been replaced by a facsimile executed in 1846.

The labour of preparing the text must have been enormous. As printed, the four folios contain, with indexes and preliminary matter, 4262 pages; and since each page holds about a thousand words, the total number of the latter must be at least four and a quarter millions. Perhaps a better idea of its bulk can be formed from the fact that the excellent reprint issued in 1905-7 by Messrs MacLehose of Glasgow (with the collaboration of the Hakluyt Society) fills no less than twenty volumes. It may be said with confidence that so large a work had never before been printed at an English press. It was of course worked off on hand presses in small instalments; and evidently the author (in accordance with custom) left the reading of the proofs to

PLATE IV



He showed his word, that he had not dealt so with any nation. Job. 15:47.



HAKLVYUS
POSTHUMUS
OR
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMAGE
Containing a History of the
World in Sea voyages & Land-
Travells, by Englishmen &
others
Wherein

Gods Wonders in Nature & Pre-
vidence, The divers Ages, Civilizations,
& Varietys of Men, & a world of
the Worlds Rarities are by a world
of Englishmen Ascertained, Re-
lated to the World.
Some left written by Mr. Haklyus, others
died, others have added, others perished,
or professed all extreamly erroneous,
Illustrated wth Notes, followed wth Dis-
cussions, Almondines, & Figures, and
described in Maps, In severall
Parts, Each containing five
Books.

By SAMUEL PURCHASE, B.D.





Samuel Purchas

the printer, since he tells us that the page headings were often inserted by 'the corrector'; and that many errors were due to his own 'absence from the presse'. The printing commenced in August 1621, and on 11 December in the same year the work was registered at Stationers' Hall. To 'the adventurous courage' of his publisher, 'so long to beare this my heavy world at such expenses', Purchas pays a well-deserved tribute; but we must do the same justice to the author himself. Except for some help afforded by his son, the whole task of copying, abridging, and annotating fell upon his shoulders, he being unable to maintain 'a vicarian or subordinate scribe'. During the preparation of the work he was forced to live 'in great part upon exhibition of charitable friends and on extraordinary labours of lecturing (as the terme is)', for his regular stipend was insufficient to meet the many demands upon his purse. 'It had not beene possible', he continues, 'for me in London distractions to have accōplished so great a designe, but for the opportunities of His Majesties Colledge at Chelsie,¹ where these foure last summers I have retired myselfe (without pulpit non-residence) to this worke.' It is only fair, when blaming the author for many shortcomings, to remember the vast extent of his work and the difficulties under which it was produced.

At last, early in 1625, the collection was ready for publication. Its imposing title was *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes, contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others.* On 10 January Purchas waited upon the Court of Committees of the East India Company and duly exhibited his volumes; whereupon 'the Court

¹ Founded in 1610 by Dr Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, for the maintenance of a body of clerical fellows whose duty was to be to defend the established religion, though two of their number might be men not in holy orders, who were to write the annals of their own times. The college was only partly built, and after the founder's death it came to grief for want of an endowment. Charles II in 1667 gave the building and its grounds to the Royal Society, but afterwards bought the property back again, and the present Chelsea Hospital was erected on the site.

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ooke in very thanckfull part the labours of Mr. Purchas, and in token of their good acceptance thereof did gratify him with £100, and the Company to have three setts of his books'. He had composed an epistle to the Company, dealing with the injuries received from the Dutch in the East Indies; and this he proposed to insert. The Company entirely approved; but the printer demurred, fearing to be called in question if this dangerous topic were introduced, and after some attempt to move him by the offer of money, the proposal was dropped, though a mild 'note touching the Dutch' appears at the end of the address to the reader. To King James and Prince Charles (the work was dedicated to the latter) the proud author had already presented copies of his 'voluminous twinnes'; and he tells us that His Majesty, in accepting the gift, promised that the reading of them should be 'his nightly task'. He also asked whether the *Pilgrimage* was included, and, pointing to a copy of that work in his bedchamber, said that he had read it through seven times. This hint was not lost upon Purchas, who at once busied himself in preparing a fresh edition, to range with the four volumes of the *Pilgrimes*. Soon the patient printers were again at work; and some time in 1626 the volume appeared—a portentous affair of over 1100 pages and well over a million words. It has never been reprinted, and in these days it is seldom opened. For us its most valuable feature is the supplement, in which Purchas printed some matter which had come to hand too late for insertion in the *Pilgrimes*. This consisted of (1) extracts from Sir Jerome Horsey's account of his experiences in Russia (a narrative since printed in full from the original MS. by Sir Edward Bond in his *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*: Hakluyt Society, 1856); (2) William Methwold's description of the kingdom of Golconda, etc. (reprinted in the same Society's *Relations of Golconda in the Seventeenth Century*, edited by W. H. Moreland, 1930); (3) an epitome (with additions) of the 'Saracenical Historie' of Al-Makin, taken from the Latin version published at Leiden in 1625.

Samuel Purchas

The issue of the *Pilgrimage* was followed within a few months by the death of its author. For long the date was only known approximately, from the fact that his will was proved on 21 October 1626; but by the kindness of the Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, the rector, I learnt that the registers of St Martin's, Ludgate, contain the following entry: '1626, September. The last day was buried Mr. Samuell Purchas, our parson.' Presumably the interment took place in the church; but that building was burnt down in the Great Fire, and the present edifice, which was erected by Sir Christopher Wren, contains no monument to the most celebrated of its rectors.

Purchas was only about forty-nine at the time of his death, but apparently his incessant labours had worn him out. In the preface to the *Pilgrimage* he complains of his weak body; and he seems also to have had for a time some harassing money troubles, due in part to the death of a brother-in-law, whose entangled affairs he had to regulate, besides providing for the fatherless family. Anthony à Wood (*Fasti Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, part I, col. 363) repeats some gossip about his having brought himself into debt by the publication of such expensive works, but contradicts an allegation that he actually died in prison on this account. As a matter of fact, his will shows that he was fairly well off at the time of his death. Another statement made by the same writer is that the King had promised Purchas a deanery. This may explain Purchas's own statement, in the preface to the *Pilgrimage*, that King James, shortly before his own death, was pleased 'to impose another task on me, by an honourable messenger, with promise of reward, which... was buried (with those hopes) in His Majesties grave'. The nature of this fresh task does not appear.

Anthony à Wood tells us that our author was 'by some stiled our English Ptolemy'. This is as inapt as such comparisons usually are. The best we can say of him is, in the words of the late Professor Raleigh, that 'the inestimable value of his materials has given Purchas a secure place beside his greater predecessor'.



III

ENGLISH COLLECTIONS OF VOYAGES
AND TRAVELS

1625-1846

BY G. R. CRONE AND R. A. SKELTON



ENGLISH COLLECTIONS OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

1625-1846

Introduction

During the period approximately set by the years 1760 and 1870, knowledge of the world underwent a remarkable expansion, rivalled only by that achieved in the great age of discovery. In contrast to this earlier period, British explorers took a leading part in this advance, no longer following in the wake of Spain, Portugal, or the Netherlands. After a prelude beginning about 1700, during which the Spanish monopoly in the New World was challenged and broken and British seamen were finding their way across the Pacific and once more circumnavigating the globe, the new era opened brilliantly with the three voyages of Captain James Cook. Varied though the motives were which impelled this expansion—economic, political, and philanthropic—Cook established at the outset the practicability of blending these with scientific observation and research. At sea his work was continued by Vancouver, Flinders and others trained in his school. In the early years of the new century, the first surveys of the Australian coast-line were completed, and within fifty years the main features of the interior had been revealed. Cook's pioneer work in the Antarctic was followed up by the enterprise of whaling captains, and crowned by Sir James Ross's expedition in the *Erebus* and *Terror*. Contemporaneously, the traditional British interest in the Arctic also revived, where a long series of naval expeditions, culminating in the search for Sir John Franklin, charted much of the North American sector. The continental land to the south was crossed for the first time by Alexander Mackenzie in 1790-1, and his pioneer

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contributions to its geography were enlarged by Franklin, Rae, and officials of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Elsewhere the main British effort was concentrated in West and Central Africa, where a long line of explorers from Mungo Park to Livingstone finally solved those geographical problems which had been debated for centuries. Throughout Southern and Central Asia, too, particularly in the lands bordering on the frontiers of the Indian Empire and on the route thither, the British contribution was not inferior to that of other nations.

So momentous an achievement of human enterprise and endurance could not fail to excite the interest of contemporaries, to create a widespread demand for the latest narratives, or to arouse curiosity in the achievements of their predecessors. It is the purpose of this essay to examine one of the methods by which these demands were satisfied, namely, the 'general collections' of voyages and travels characteristic of the period between the publication of Purchas's *Pilgrimes* and the foundation of the Hakluyt Society. It is inevitable that a comparison should be made between the literature of the two great ages of expansion; if the later records, differing in style, outlook, and purpose, are often less inspired than those of Richard Hakluyt, the achievements were not less notable, and the total contributions to science incomparably greater.

Most of the English collections published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, indeed, fall far short of *The Principall Navigations* both in form and in spirit. The qualities which armed Hakluyt's propaganda for his vision of a commercial empire founded on sea power—the feeling for form and style, the editorial integrity and systematic plan, illuminated by an Elizabethan sense of glory—are rarely seen in the compilations of the next two hundred years. Nevertheless, these collections may be profitably studied as evidence of public interest in discovery and of the diffusion of geographical knowledge.

English Collections, 1625-1846

After the publication of *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625), no other major collection of voyages and travels appeared in England before the close of the seventeenth century. It is not difficult to connect this void with the contemporary lull in British geographical enterprise. The turbulence of domestic politics absorbed the energies of people and press, and the lead in overseas expansion was taken by other nations, notably the Dutch and French. The great Elizabethan and Jacobean impulse for the discovery of new lands and new markets had spent itself. Englishmen now preferred to read cosmographical descriptions, like those of Peter Heylyn and John Ogilby, and the reports brought back by 'urbane travellers' (in Professor Taylor's phrase), diplomats, antiquaries, merchants and tourists from Europe and the Near East. Farther afield the principal English travellers were the servants of the chartered companies. 'Proud and privileged' commercial corporations, such as the East India and Hudson's Bay Companies, were frequently accused of being more interested in developing trade than in promoting discovery, in the secretion of knowledge than in its diffusion.

This restrictive tendency was accentuated after the Restoration, when the companies became still more monopolistic in character. Writing in 1694, the anonymous editor¹ of Narborough's and other voyages to the South Seas, after describing those of Narborough (1669) and Sharp (1680-2), complained that

since these Attempts...several English Ships have passed into the South Sea...but what Trade they manage in those Parts, or what Discoveries they have made...we cannot inform the Reader, being no Merchants our selves, nor having seen any Journals or Voyages...besides those before-mentioned.

¹ Sir Tancred Robinson, M.D., F.R.S. See below, p. 71.

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The Royal Society

Soon after the Restoration, however, seeds were sown which after germination were largely responsible for the great efflorescence of geographical literature in the eighteenth century. From its incorporation by Royal Charter in 1662, the Royal Society displayed a notable interest in the extension of geographical knowledge, both for its own sake and as the background to botanical, archaeological and other scientific studies. Its early Fellows and correspondents sent or brought back records of their travels; foreign travellers on arrival in London were invited to address the Society; the long series of voyages and travels promoted by the Society was inaugurated in the last decade of the seventeenth century; and many geographical papers were printed in the early *Journals* and *Philosophical Transactions*. In the Society's rooms the collector, the connoisseur and the scholar met as equals; this was a fertile partnership for geographical literature, as in the libraries of such men as Sloane, Harley and (later) Banks editors found rich collections of voyages and travels, both printed and manuscript, from which to quarry their texts. Sir Hans Sloane, in particular, rendered conspicuous if indirect service to historical geography, not unlike that of Hakluyt in his day. The catalogue of the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum shows how many valuable records of discovery owe their preservation to him; and he appears repeatedly though often unobtrusively as translator and editor, as patron and promoter of geographical enterprises and publications.

By the turn of the century public interest in the activities of the Royal Society had sufficiently ripened to encourage the reprinting of a popular selection of papers from its journals. This was edited in 1705-7 by Edmund Halley with the title *Miscellanea curiosa*; later editions appeared in 1708 and 1726. The first of the three volumes includes Halley's papers on the

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trade-winds and monsoons (1688), on magnetic variation (1683) and on the change in magnetic declination (1692). They are illustrated by *A new and Correct Sea Chart of the Whole World shewing the variations of ye Compass as they were found Año 1700, with a View of the Generall and Coasting Trade Winds and Monsoons or shifting Trade-Winds. By the direction of Capt. Edm. Halley*; this is a small chart, engraved by John Harris, incorporating the data of Halley's earlier meteorological and magnetic charts. The third volume, 'containing a collection of curious travels, voyages, and natural histories of countries, as they have been delivered in to the Royal Society', is devoted to geographical papers, arranged in a roughly regional order, and includes *inter alia* Thomas Smyth's reports on Turkey and Asia Minor, accounts of Palmyra by Wood, Halley and others, letters from James Cunningham on China and Korea and from John Clayton the botanist on Virginia, and a journal 'kept from Scotland to New Caledonia in Darien' by Dr James Wallace.

Seventeenth-century collections

It is not surprising that several travel collections of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were associated with Fellows of the Royal Society. John Evelyn's *Navigation and Commerce, their original and progress* (1674), the introduction to his uncompleted and unpublished history of the Dutch war, may be cited as revealing his understanding of the economic consequences of sea power and is in the true descent from Hakluyt; but it is a treatise, not a collection, and does not fall within the limits of our subject.

In 1693 the 'Printers to the Royal Society', S. Smith and B. Walford, issued a compilation with the name of John Ray, the botanist, as editor, and the title *A Collection of Curious Travels & Voyages... To which are added, three Catalogues of such*

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Trees, Shrubs, and Herbs as grow in the Levant. By John Ray.¹ The history² of this collection, which was initiated by three Fellows of the Royal Society—Sir Hans Sloane, who this year became its Secretary, Sir Tancred Robinson, and Captain (afterwards Viscount) Hatton—and edited by a fourth, shows that neither Ray's enthusiasm for it nor his share in editing it were great. Derham, his biographer, tells us³ that

Rauwolff's Travels were thought worthy of being translated into English and printed; the occasion of which was that...his book being grown very scarce, Sir Hans Sloane, Captain Hatton, and some other considerable virtuosos procured the book from the Royal Society...and got Mr Staphorst to translate it into English; but it not being thought proper to trust the matter wholly to him, it was agreed to get Mr Ray to revise and correct the translation and to add a catalogue of such plants as grow in the places where Rauwolff had been; and accordingly Mr Ray drew up such a catalogue...which with 'Rauwolff's Travels', and some other scarce and curious tracts, were printed in 1693.

Ray wrote in a letter to Edward Lhwyd (22 March 1693): 'All this I have undertaken, not by mine own instinct, but the instigation of others, particularly Dr Robinson, whom in this I was the more inclinable to gratify, because now I hope I shall come to an end, and doe not see what other businesse they can invent for me.' The first volume contains the narrative⁴ of Leonhart Rauwolff, an Augsberg physician and botanist who travelled in the Near East in search of 'Drugs and Simples' in 1573–6; the second volume, besides Ray's 'Stirpium Orientalium rariorum catalogi tres', a miscellany of travels in 'many parts of Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, Arabia Felix, and Petræa, Ethiopia, the

¹ 2 vols. 8°. London, 1693. Later editions in 1705 and (with Ray's own travels) 1738.

² See Ray's *Correspondence*, 1848, pp. 255, 260, 262; *Further Correspondence of John Ray*, 1928, pp. 232–3, 236, 297–8.

³ *Memorials of John Ray*, 1848, p. 47.

⁴ First printed in 1582 at Lauingen.

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Red Sea, &c. from the observations of Mons. Belon, Mr Vernon, Dr Spon, Dr Smith, Dr Huntingdon, Mr Greaves, Alpinus, Veslingius, Thevenot's Collections, and others.' The collection is dedicated to the President, Council and Fellows of the Royal Society and introduced by the booksellers' address to the reader, in which the origin of the work is described, the author (Rauwolff) commended and excused on an imputation of credulity ('tho' some may perhaps give a slight Character of him, for a Mistake or two about Prester John and the Unicorn, yet...they ought to take that part only as a Story told him upon the Road'), and the sources of the additional travels indicated. These additional accounts, added for good measure by Robinson and Sloane or by the booksellers, have suffered much editorial 'digesting' and are not systematic or original enough to have much value. They include several Royal Society papers (from the *Philosophical Transactions*), and their distinct botanical and archaeological bias illustrates the scientific and antiquarian sides of Restoration scholarship.

Robinson, probably assisted by his friend Sloane, was responsible for a work of greater substance published a year after Ray's collection. This was *An Account of Several Late Voyages and Discoveries to the South and North. Towards the Streights of Magellan, the South Seas, the vast tracts of land beyond Hollandia Nova, &c. Also towards Nova Zembla, Greenland & Spitsberg, Groynland or Engrondland, &c. By Sir John Narborough, Captain Jasmen Tasman, Captain John Wood, and Frederick Marten of Hamburg.*¹ The editor² is not named in the volume, and it is not known to whom it owes its initiation.³ It is evidently designed to illustrate current knowledge of the two outstanding

¹ 8°. London, 1694. Reprinted 1711, and in Harris's and Callander's collections.

² For the identification with Robinson, see D.N.B., s.v. Robinson.

³ Perhaps to Sloane, who wrote to Ray (16 February 1693): 'I have likewise solicited hard to get one Martin's book of Greenland translated and printed.' Later he sent the translation to Ray for criticism.

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geographical mysteries, the northern sea passages to East Asia and the existence of the supposed Southern Continent, and may be regarded as an epitaph on the first and a prologue to the second problem.

The two English voyages, the narratives of which were here first printed, were the latest attempts upon the northern passages, one to the north-west, the other to the north-east, and their failure did much to discourage further enterprise in this direction for many years. Narborough, indeed, accomplished little beyond producing some good charts of South America. His expedition (1669-71) was promoted by the Admiralty with the double purpose of breaking the Spanish monopoly of South American trade and of opening a North-West Passage from the Pacific to Hudson's Bay.¹ One of his two ships sailed for home before reaching the Straits of Magellan, and Narborough himself turned back at Valdivia in Chile after encountering Spanish opposition. Only one other voyage for the North-West Passage was made before Cook's third voyage (1776), although Samuel Hearne reached its shores overland in 1771. Captain John Wood, who sailed with Narborough and also wrote a report² of his expedition, believed that a North-East Passage to Japan would be found midway between Spitsbergen and Novaya Zemlya, and in 1676, under the patronage of the King and the Duke of York, he sailed with two ships to prove his theory. His ship, the *Speedwell*, was wrecked in a fog off the coast of Novaya Zemlya and the crew rescued by her consort the *Prosperous* (Captain Flawes). Robinson prints Wood's proposals for the voyage, which were founded on Barentsz's experiences in 1594 and 1596 and on various reports from English, Dutch and Russian sources; the logs of both ships; and Wood's conclusions against the possibility of a navi-

¹ See Burney, *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean*, vol. iii, p. 319.

² Printed in Hacke's collection, 1699 (below, p. 75).

gable passage to the north of Asia. Apart from the Russian enterprises under Peter the Great, all effort in this direction was suspended until the nineteenth century. The Admiralty's contribution to the voyages of Narborough and Wood is acknowledged by the dedication of the volume to Samuel Pepys, Secretary of the Admiralty; and the editor's introduction, although unkempt in style, gives an interesting picture of the inferences drawn from them. Robinson concludes against the existence of any passage to eastern Asia by the far north, citing for the North-West Passage the abortive attempt of Captain Thomas James (1630-1), for the North-East Passage the reports of Wood (1676) and Nicolaas Witsen (in a letter to the Royal Society, 1691), and deciding with Wood that Spitsbergen and Novaya Zemlya form part of a single land-mass. The admirable description of Spitsbergen by the German surgeon Friedrich Martens, who visited it in 1671, did nothing to remove this fallacy.

Finally, Tasman's great voyage of 1642, on which he discovered Tasmania and New Zealand, is described in an abstract of his journal¹ 'not long since published in the Low Dutch by Dirk Rembrantse, and now in English from Dr Hook's Collections', i.e. from the Royal Society's *Philosophical Collections* (No. 6, 1682), edited by Hooke. Robinson's discussion of it is dominated by the contemporary belief in the *Terra australis nondum cognita* thought (after Ptolemy) to enclose the southern margins of the Indian and Pacific Oceans; and he suggests that the Dutch have discovered more than they had published. In fact their reach had exceeded their grasp, and they had discovered more than they could develop. Yet at this date it was true that, as Robinson claimed, Tasman's voyage was 'the more considerable in that 'tis the Discovery of a New World, not yet known to the English'; but public interest in

¹ Thevenot (1663) printed a French translation; the Dutch original was published in Amsterdam about 1678.

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the South Seas, kindled by the revelation of the earlier discoveries of the Dutch¹ and the more recent exploits of the buccaneers in waters claimed by Spain, was quickly fanned into flame by the success of Dampier's works, the first volume of which, *A New Voyage round the World*, became a notable best-seller on its appearance in 1697. Political, commercial and scientific interests combined to attract the patrons of discovery—the Government, the City of London, the Royal Society—to the great area of mystery in the South Pacific, and it was English navigators who were to make its principal features known in the coming century, particularly in the years of peace following the Treaty of Paris (1763).

On the flood of popular interest thus released many collections of travels, both general and regional, were launched. In the last year of the seventeenth century appeared a small volume entitled *A Collection of Original Voyages: containing I. Capt. Cowley's Voyage round the Globe. II. Captain Sharp's Journey over the Isthmus of Darien, and Expedition into the South Seas, written by himself. III. Capt. Wood's Voyage thro' the Streights of Magellan. IV. Mr. Roberts's Adventures among the Corsairs of the Levant....Published by Capt. William Hacke.*² The publisher was James Knapton, who, having issued Dampier's voyages, had found that there was money in the literature of travel. He is described by a fellow-bookseller³ as 'a very accomplished person...and shews by his purchasing Dampier's Voyages he knows how to value a good copy'. The editor, who dedicated his work to Lord Somers, was a less academic character than those we have so far considered. Captain Hacke lived near the New Stairs at Wapping, a common resort of the buccaneers,

¹ A translation of Isaak Commelin's *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenigde Nederlandtsche Geestroyerde Oost-Indische Compagnie. Vervatend de voornaemste Reysen, etc.* (1646) was published in London in 1703.

² 8°. London, 1699. Reprinted in the 1729 edition of Dampier's *voyages*.

³ *The Life and Errors of John Dunton*, 1818 edition, pp. 217-8.

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and was familiar with their leaders, with whom he may have sailed. Captain Sharp seems to have supplied him with material—no doubt his own charts and journals and captured Spanish charts—from which Hacke made handsome MS. charts of the South and Central American coasts from about 1683 onwards. One of these 'South Sea Waggoners' was presented by Sharp to Charles II, another was sold by Hacke about 1693 to an official of the South Sea Company.¹

Of the three accounts of Pacific voyages printed by Hacke, one is Wood's log of Narborough's expedition in 1669,² the others describe the two most celebrated voyages made by the buccaneers. Captain Bartholomew Sharp, 'that sea-artist and valiant commander', was one of the adventurers who in 1680 crossed the Isthmus of Panama and carried out piracies on the west coast and in the Pacific. Other members of the band were William Dampier, Lionel Wafer, Basil Ringrose, and Captains Coxon, Watling and Sawkins, the last of whom was killed in the storming of Puebla Nueva and was succeeded as commander by Sharp. In 1681 their 'dissentions grew so high' that they divided, one party returning overland through Darien, the other under Sharp sailing south round Cape Horn to a latitude of about 60° and arriving at Barbados early in 1682. Hacke says of Sharp's log, which he considerably abridges: 'Mr Ringrose and others have related his Expedition; but the Captain's own account of it was never published before.' Ringrose's picturesque narrative had been printed as Part IV (1685) of John Esquemeling's celebrated *Buccaneers of America*, to the second edition of which (1684) an anonymous buccaneer added a further account of Sharp's voyage. From his observations this author makes the inference that 'there is no such continent

¹ Both copies are still extant, the first in the British Museum (MS. Sloane 44), the second in the Huntington Library. As Dr Lynam has noted in his *British Maps and Map-Makers*, it was probably in the latter copy that Charles Lamb, as a clerk in the South-Sea House, saw 'dusty maps of Mexico, dim as dreams, and soundings of the Bay of Panama!'

² See above, p. 72.

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as *Terra Australis incognita*, as is named and described in all the ancient maps'. Hacke himself seems to have shared the current belief in the Southern Continent, for his printed abstract of Sharp's journal omits the strong expressions of doubt regarding its existence which appear in the MS. versions; and the world map illustrating his volume shows the buccaneers' principal contribution to the speculative geography of *Terra australis*, the supposed Davis' Land in the approximate position of Easter Island.

William Ambrose Cowley's narrative, which (says Hacke) 'I have published with very little alteration from the original journal, given me by Cap. Cowley', describes the better known voyage of 1683-4, in the course of which a band of buccaneers, led by Captains Cook, Davis and Eaton and again including Dampier, sailed round Cape Horn,¹ carried out raids on the isthmus and charted the Galapagos Islands. Cowley was a skilled navigator who had been engaged by the buccaneers in Virginia as ship's master. He professed disapproval of their proceedings, referring to himself as 'the Jackdawe amongst the Rookes', and made more than one unsuccessful attempt to escape. He eventually sailed with Eaton to the East Indies and returned to Europe in a Dutch ship. The voyages of the other buccaneers in this party were described by Wafer and Dampier. In Hacke's volume Cowley's account is illustrated by a world map showing the course of his circumnavigation and by the buccaneers' chart of the Galapagos Islands, both engraved by Herman Moll, with other charts and coastal views.

Hacke's account of the materials to which he had access may be believed; most of them indeed still exist among the Sloane

¹ 'Where [Cowley writes] we chusing of Valentines, and discoursing of the Intrigues of Women, there arose a prodigious Storm... so that we concluded the discoursing of Women at Sea was very unlucky, and occasioned the Storm.'

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MSS.,¹ although none has been reprinted in any other form than that provided by Hacke.² His claim to reproduce the texts faithfully, with abridgement only 'in such places as contained nothing but plain Sailing', cannot be accepted. Not only are the narratives of Sharp and Cowley considerably mutilated and summarized, but Hacke falls under suspicion of elaborating his author in at least one detail which was to mislead cartographers and navigators for many years. The famous but imaginary Pepys Island owed the belief in its existence indeed to Cowley (whose MS. describes, but does not name, such an island in 47° 40' South), but its name apparently to Hacke, whose abstract of Cowley's journal in his *Collection* makes the first mention of the name in print, although he ascribes the naming to Cowley. The world chart in the volume shows the island, of which a coastal profile is also given. A MS. view of the island³ by Hacke, entitled *A description of Mr. Secretarie Pepyses Island; discovered by Wm. Ambros Cowley*, connects him still more closely with this geographical illusion, which formed one of the objectives of Byron's voyage round the world in 1764-6. Dampier,⁴ who was in Cowley's ship, gives a description of the same landfall, which suggests that the islands seen were part of the Falkland (or Sebald de Weert) group, placed in an incorrect latitude by Cowley; and Burney,⁵ who knew Cowley's MS. journal, treats the whole fiction as a sycophantic exploitation by Hacke of Cowley's error, adding that 'Hack's ingenious adulation of the secretary of the Admiralty flourished a full

¹ Cowley's journal in MS. Sloane 54; Sharp's journal, with Wood's *Description of the Straits of Magellan*, in MS. Sloane 46; Wood's narrative in MS. Sloane 3833.

² Campbell reprinted Cowley's and Sharp's journals from Hacke. Burney used Cowley's MS.

³ MS. Sloane 45, fol. 69. The legend on this chart has a close textual likeness to the relevant passage in the *Collection*.

⁴ *A New Voyage round the World* (1697), p. 80.

⁵ *A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean*, vol. iv, pp. 137-9.

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century undetected, a Pepys Island being all the time admitted in the charts'.

It is perhaps surprising to find that the buccaneers were by no means shy of print, although some of the journals (e.g. Sharp's) were printed after the author's death, others (e.g. Ringrose's) during his absence from England. *E malo bonum*; they broke the brittle crust of Spanish monopoly which had closed the Pacific to navigation and they enlarged the knowledge of those seas. Their literary monuments are Esquemeling, Hacke's modest collection and the early works of Dampier.

Eighteenth-century collections

With the opening of the eighteenth century the vogue of travel literature, which was outrun in popularity among the reading public only by theology, became firmly established and was to be sustained throughout the century. Nor was this popularity confined to the wealthy; while Churchill's four folio volumes cost £3. 10s., Knapton was selling John Stevens's collection in monthly parts at 1s. each. The important collections of 1700-50, however, were on the grand scale; the great book-sellers could now find capital for large and expensive undertakings. For the landed gentry of England this was an age of expansion in the arts of living and their patronage largely determined the lines along which these arts developed. It is tempting to relate the great travel collections to other manifestations of contemporary taste. The imposing folios of Churchill, Harris and Osborne, adorned by numerous engravings, fitly furnished the libraries of Palladian country houses designed by Campbell or Kent and decorated by Thornhill; and the lists of subscribers to these collections are filled by the names of the virtuosi for whom such houses were built and of the merchants who, enriched by the rapid expansion of British commerce, now became landed proprietors.

The effect of patronage on the more sumptuous travel literature was not less baleful than on architecture and other arts.¹ To it must be ascribed the eclecticism and amateurism which vitiate such a collection as Churchill's. Though rich in original material, it is difficult to use and wholly lacks the lucidity and singlemindedness of Hakluyt. One cannot but feel that it is designed rather to entertain the dilettante than to further knowledge or action and that it has more in common with the miscellanies of the period than with the serious compilations of Hakluyt, Thevenot or even Purchas. The vogue of travel narratives in the age of Anne and the early Hanoverians had perhaps less significance for geography and history than for literature, and it made its contribution to *Gulliver's Travels*, *Robinson Crusoe* and the English picaresque novel.

The editors of the eighteenth century further differed from Hakluyt in casting their net less widely. The first edition of Churchill (1704) contains a 'Catalogue and Character of most Books of Travels', perhaps compiled by Edmund Halley the astronomer, which includes an animadversion on Hakluyt as significant as it is querulous. With the intention of giving the reader 'a taste of the author's method of heaping together all things good and bad', the cataloguer writes²:

It might be wished the author [Hakluyt] had been less voluminous, delivering what was really authentick and useful, and not stuffing his work with so many stories taken upon trust, so many trading voyages that have nothing new in them, so many warlike exploits not at all pertinent to his undertaking, and such a multitude of articles, charters, privileges, letters, relations, and other things little to the purpose of travels and discoveries.

¹ 'Instead of meeting actual wants, and submitting to their wholesome limitations, architecture was now considered a polite art, its guidance was in the hands of the amateur and the dilettante, indifferently controlled by the unquestionable knowledge of the architects of the eighteenth century' (Blomfield, *A Short History of Renaissance Architecture in England*, pp. 171-2).

² Churchill, 1704, vol. 1, p. lxxxviii. For a discussion of the authorship, see below, p. 83.

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Hakluyt is here criticized for the very breadth of vision which has made his work valuable to the historian, the economist, the statesman and the administrator in addition to the geographer and the explorer. The *pièces justificatives* with which Hakluyt supplemented his narratives of travel were to the pure geographer merely padding, whereas to Hakluyt and to us they round out his picture and enable it to be seen as a vital part of the life and history of the English people. This narrowness of outlook and consequent restriction of the field of view characterizes much of the travel literature of the eighteenth and indeed the nineteenth centuries.

Churchill

The earliest of the eighteenth-century collections was published by the brothers Awnsham and John Churchill in 1704 in four folio volumes, with the title *A Collection of Voyages and Travels, some now first printed from original manuscripts. Others translated out of foreign languages, and now first published in English. To which are added some few that have formerly appeared in English.... With a General Preface, giving an Account of the Progress of Navigation.* Proposals for the book were issued in June 1701; subscriptions invited in February 1702, 'great part of the said Book being printed'; and it was advertised as ready in December 1703.¹ In their preface the booksellers excuse the delay in appearance by the difficulty of finding suitable translators.

Awnsham Churchill was a friend of John Locke and one of the most substantial booksellers of his day. He set up business in 1681, took his brother John as partner in 1690, published Bishop Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia* in 1695, became M.P. for Dorchester, and died in 1722. Dunton² says of the brothers: 'They were of an universal trade. I traded very con-

¹ *Term Catalogues*, ed. Arber, vol. III, pp. 265, 293, 368, 387.

² *Life and Errors*, 1818, pp. 204-5.

siderably with them for several years, and must do them the justice to say that I was never concerned with any persons more exact in their accompts, and more just in their payments. They never starve an undertaking, to save charges.' The *Collection of Voyages and Travels* could have been undertaken only by a syndicate or a bookseller with command of considerable capital.

The list of subscribers to the first edition contains some 200 names, mainly landed gentry but including Sloane, Robinson and a few booksellers. The sale of copies by no means exhausted the edition printed, for in 1732 the four volumes were reissued with new title-pages and two additional volumes.¹ These six volumes were 'printed by assignment from Messrs Churchill' for John Walthoe and others. In 1744-6 H. Lintot and J. Osborn (two of the 1732 assignees) issued a third edition to which in 1747 was added, as Volumes vii and viii, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels...Compiled from the...library of the late Earl of Oxford* (the so-called Harleian Collection)² published by Thomas Osborne, who appears to have acquired the copyright of Churchill's collection about 1746. A final edition of Volumes i-vi was issued by Osborne in 1752.

It is not known who initiated or edited the compilation. According to the title-page of the third edition (but not of earlier editions) the introductory discourse on the history of navigation is 'supposed to be written by the celebrated Mr Locke', and Locke presented a copy of the collection to Oxford University. Locke's close connection with Churchill has prompted the suggestion that he had a hand in promoting or editing the work, but there is no evidence for this and the uncritical arrangement of the collection makes it unlikely. No doubt the publishers employed a number of journeymen writers

¹ From the publishers' preface to the first edition it seems that the material for these two volumes was already in their possession in 1704.

² In fact a reissue of the original edition of 1745. See below, p. 86-88.

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for the translation and manipulation of the texts, either under their own supervision or under that of a hired editor. The translators are all anonymous.

The publisher's preface draws attention to the completeness of the texts ('we would not assume the liberty of prescribing to the publick how much of an author they should read') and describes the works printed in the collection. This is followed by the 'Introductory Discourse, containing the whole History of Navigation from its Original to this time', mentioned above. The title-page of the third edition seems to be the only early evidence known to support Locke's authorship; but the *Discourse*, with the 'Catalogue... of most Books of Travels', was printed in four editions of Locke's works (based on that of Bishop Edmund Law) between 1791 and 1823. The preface to Law's original edition (1777) merely refers to the *Discourse* as one of the writings commonly ascribed to Locke; but in the ninth edition (1791) the editor attempts to justify its inclusion, and that of the Catalogue, among Locke's works. Against the attribution it may be argued that Churchill, who must have known whether Locke were the author or no, and whose sales would have profited by the advertisement of so well-known a name, did not mention Locke either in the proposals or on the title-page of his collection.

Internal evidence provides no better support for the attribution to Locke, for the essay's shortcomings both in form and in substance are conspicuous and suggest that its author was no geographer. The writer, whose prose style is pedestrian, opens with a rambling account of ancient navigation. After referring to the invention of the magnetic compass, he becomes absurdly involved in a discussion of magnetic variation:

The variation of [the compass] is another as inscrutable a secret. This variation is when the needle does not point out the true pole, but inclines... to the east or west; and is not certain, but differs according to places, yet holding always the same in the same place....

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There is nothing of it certain but the variation alone, there is a variation of the variation, a subject to be handled by none but such as have made it a peculiar study, and which deserving a peculiar volume is daily expected from a most able pen.

The 'most able pen' is no doubt that of Halley, who in September 1700 returned from his Atlantic voyage and in 1701 and 1702 published his charts of magnetic declination. This passage suggests that the *Discourse* was written before 1701. The author, with obvious relief, adds: 'But let us leave these mysteries, and come to the historical part', and proceeds to recount the annals of discovery. The sequence is regional and the discussion uncritical, no attempt being made to relate voyages to their geographical results. The introduction closes with instructions for travellers drawn up by Lawrence Rooke, 'geometry professor at Gresham College'.

The 'Catalogue and Character of most Books of Travels' which follows was advertised in the Proposals of 1701 and 1702 as by Edmund Halley. No other evidence of his authorship is known, and general considerations throw some doubt on it. His name is absent from the later advertisements and from the collection itself; between 1701 and 1704 he was absorbed in exacting tasks of a very different character;¹ and the censorious tone of the criticisms does not resemble Halley's usual genial style. He may have undertaken to compile the Catalogue for Churchill on his return home in 1700 and have been prevented from completing it by his official missions of 1701-3. The Catalogue was omitted from the 1745 and 1752 editions of Churchill and reprinted, with the Introductory Discourse, among Locke's works at the end of the century; the attribution to Locke is worthless. It is divided by languages—Latin, Italian,

¹ After his return to England late in 1700 he was employed by the Admiralty in a survey of the English Channel (1701-2) and in missions to the Adriatic (1702-3); at the end of 1703 he was elected Savilian Professor at Oxford.

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French, Spanish, English; Dutch works are omitted on the ground that 'they are not very many, and all of them will be found, as they were translated into other languages'. The author gives high praise to Ramusio, De Bry and Thevenot; censures Hakluyt (in terms already quoted) and Purchas, who 'has imitated [Hakluyt] too much... and is excessive full of his own notions, and of mean quibbling and playing upon words'; commends Robinson's collection, and disparages that of Hacke.

Of the editing of Churchill's collection it may be said that the claim to originality, made in the title is justified; that the texts are reproduced and translated with tolerable accuracy and substantial completeness, although some of the translations lack polish; and that the selection and arrangement of the materials are arbitrary and unsatisfactory.

As to originality, it is a striking fact that, in some 1600 folio pages printed in double column, the only major items which were not new to English readers are Nieuhoff's travels in the East Indies and Brazil (already translated by John Ogilby in 1669), Captain John Smith's travels, Captain Thomas James's voyage for the North-West Passage, and John Greaves's *Pyramographia* (1646). No material was borrowed from earlier English collections. Many important works, chiefly of the seventeenth century, were now printed in English for the first time with (on the whole) but little editorial mutilation. They include, in Volume I, D. F. Navarette's account of China (1676) without the suppressed second part; the travels of Martin Baumgarten (d. 1532) in the Levant and Middle East; the Congo journeys of the Capuchins Michael Angelo and Denis de Carli (1666-7) and J. Merolla (1682); Isaac de la Peyrère's *Relation du Groenland* (1647), which describes the Hudson's Bay expedition of Jens Munk in 1619 from a Danish source; and Sir Thomas Roe's Indian journal, in a fuller version than Purchas gives. In Volume II Ferdinand Columbus's life of his father appears for the first time in English; Volume III includes the first English

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editions of Ovalle's *Relation of the Kingdom of Chile* (1646), Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, and Philip Baldaeus's description of the Malabar and Coromandel coasts (1672), the translation of which, by a Fellow of the Royal Society, was revised by Sloane; Volume iv, J. F. Gemelli Careri's voyage round the world in 1693-8 and Ten Rhyn's account of the Cape of Good Hope (1673); Volume v, Jean Barbot's description of Guinea in about 1680, with later additions; and Volume vi, Sir Philip Skippon's tour in Europe with Ray and Willughby in 1663-6. The English works were edited from MS. sources; the foreign works seem to have been translated as a rule from editions in the original languages, which include Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, German and Dutch.

The editors are entitled to less praise for the choice and arrangement of their materials. No principle can be discerned in the sequence, which is neither chronological nor topographical; nor has any attempt been made to correlate the results of voyages or to illustrate the progress of discovery by the selection and juxtaposition of representative narratives. Spasmodic attempts at regional grouping appear here and there, e.g. the Congo journeys in Volume i and accounts of the Arctic in Volume ii; but the arrangement is in general exasperatingly unsystematic. In Volume iv, for instance, Gemelli Careri's voyage round the world is followed by a Dutch description of Corea, two Jesuit accounts of South America, an English anecdote of a shipwrecked party in Greenland, a journey to the Hungarian mines, Ten Rhyn's account of the Cape of Good Hope and the Hottentots, and an English captain's 'Observations on the Streights of Gibraltar'. A more methodical plan might have saved the editors from at least one ludicrous mistake: La Peyrère's *Relation du Groenland* is given in two different translations, one (in Volume ii) from the French original of 1647, the other (in Volume i) from the German translation of 1650, without recognition of their identity.

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The collection is illustrated by numerous views, but has few maps, which are of little interest and unevenly distributed.

In spite of its defects, Churchill's collection is valuable for the quantity of new material which it assembles; and the editors of later collections paid it the compliment of reproducing many of its texts, often with less fidelity to the originals and with frequent complaints against its editors. The compiler of Astley's collection (1745), for instance, lashes Churchill severely for the haphazard arrangement, for the choice of authors 'of very little esteem... gathered without judgment or care', for the inclusion of inappropriate texts, such as Monson's *Naval Tracts*, for poor translations and for failure to excise uninteresting material.

Osborne

The Harleian Collection, which was in 1747 added to Churchill as Volumes VII and VIII, is generally supposed (with little reason) to have been edited by its publisher Thomas Osborne, who now owned the copyright of Churchill's collection and later acquired that of Harris's collection. Osborne was a successful bookseller who excited extremes of contempt and respect among his contemporaries. Johnson, whom he employed on the catalogue of the Harleian library, was said to have knocked him down with a folio 'for impertinence'; Pope in *The Dunciad* and Nichols in *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* sneered at him for ignorance and philistinism. His record as bookseller and publisher shows him to have been at least an astute man of business. In 1742 he purchased the printed books of the finest private library in England, that of Robert and Edward Harley, Earls of Oxford, for £13,000, 'not more [says Boswell] than the binding of the books had cost'. The catalogue, partly compiled by Johnson and with his preface, was published in 1743-5, and in 1745 appeared *A Collection of Voyages and Travels... digested according to the parts of the world....*

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*With historical introductions... and with great variety of Cuts, prospects, ruins, maps, and charts. Compiled from the... library of the late Earl of Oxford.*¹ The editor is not named or known. Most of the maps and charts were the work of Herman Moll. They include *A View of ye General & Coasting Trade-Winds, Monsoons or ye shifting Trade Winds through ye World*, similar to that in the second edition of Harris and based on Halley's charts; *A Chart of ye West Indies.... Being ye Present Seat of War*; and *A Map of New France, containing Canada, Louisiana &c.*

The preliminary matter consists of the publisher's dedication to Thomas Carew, M.P.; an analysis of the works printed; and an 'Introductory Discourse, concerning Geography' in which a great variety of topics are discursively treated under the headings of geography, navigation, government, commerce and travel. The contents of the two volumes are taken entirely from printed texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Harleian library. The collection, therefore, differs from Churchill's in offering no material not already printed in England, although many of the works were extremely scarce, and in having a wider chronological scope. The texts are reproduced complete without abridgement or abstracting; and the arrangement is systematic. In the first volume are printed the accounts of Europe, the Levant, the Near and Middle East; in the second, those of Asia, Africa and America. From this, as from Churchill's collection, later editors borrowed freely.

Osborne's compilation, like Churchill's, is frankly a miscellany of rare and interesting narratives and does not aspire to be a general or representative collection. A detailed analysis of the contents is accordingly of little value and it will be sufficient to mention briefly the more important texts reprinted. In the first volume are to be found *inter alia* a tour of Great Britain by Manuel Gonzales, 1730; Sir Thomas Overbury's *Observations in his travailes, upon the state of the XVII Provinces,*

¹ 2 vols. Fo. London, 1745. Reissued 1747.

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1609; a *Tour in France and Italy by an English Gentleman* [John Clenche], 1675; Henry Blount's voyage to the Levant in 1632-6; the English translation (1551) of the Turkish travels of Nicholas de Nicolay, sieur d'Arfevile; and English and Italian accounts of the Levant and Near East before and after 1600. The second volume reproduces John Frampton's translation (1579) of the account of China by Bernardino de Escalante and of his *Discourse of the navigation which the Portugales do make to...the East partes of the Worlde*; François Bernier's travels in India and Persia in 1655-65; English and Dutch tracts on the massacre at Amboina in 1623; Galvão's *Discoveries of the World* in Hakluyt's translation; the first Dutch voyage to the East Indies under Cornelis van Houtman, 1595-7, translated by William Philip; *The World encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*; Filippo Pigafetta's *Discourse of the Kingdom of Congo* from the expedition of Odoardo Lopez, 1578-9, translated at Hakluyt's instance by Abraham Hartwell; William Castell's *Short discourse of the coasts and continent of America, from the equinoctiall northward* (1644); the *Briefe discovery or description of Madagascar* by Richard Boothby, 1646; and the translation, made by Pierre Eronnelle, also at Hakluyt's prompting, of Marc Lescarbot's *Nova Francia*, 1609.

The middle years of the century saw a number of large collections either newly published or in new editions. In 1744-8 John Campbell's edition of Harris appeared; in 1744-6 the third edition of Churchill; in 1745 the first editions of Astley's and Osborne's collections; in 1747 the reissue of Osborne; in 1752 the last edition of Churchill; and in 1764 the last edition of Harris. The dedications and subscription lists show that the publishers were now addressing themselves to a different class of readers, and the change is not without significance. Naval power had opened the ocean routes to trading fleets from British ports, and the literature of travel now found a public, not only among dilettanti who read for amusement, but also among

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merchants and brokers who had invested money in commercial ventures to Africa, Asia and the Pacific. The title-page of the 1744 edition of Harris draws attention to 'particular accounts of the manufactures and commerce of each country', and in his dedication the editor (John Campbell) claims that 'the main Point I have had in view, has been the setting the History and advantages of Commerce in a true Light'. To this, as to the 1705, edition of Harris, a large proportion of subscribers were merchants, factors, brokers and customs officials. Astley's strictures on his predecessors are as significant as the division of his materials into travels and descriptions; and his subscribers—a long list—for the most part belong to the mercantile middle class. The earlier collections are illustrated mainly by views, but the maps of the later editions are carefully chosen to serve the needs of navigation. It will be convenient to consider these collections before turning back to their poor relations, the smaller collections.

Harris

The *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca, or a complete collection of voyages and travels*, edited by Dr John Harris, was produced in competition with Churchill's collection, the appearance of which had been considerably delayed.¹ The men who initiated the project were Thomas Bennet, John Nicholson and Daniel Midwinter. Bennet was one of the most successful booksellers of his time, with an extensive connection among the clergy, a circumstance which may explain the choice of Dr Harris as editor. Nicholson, who took over Bennet's stock on his death, was also a well-established publisher, with a taste for geographical works; in 1699 he had issued a new edition of Thomas Gage's *New Survey of the West Indies*, and in the fol-

¹ Churchill's proposals were printed in 1701, and the work was not ready until December 1703, the month in which Harris's proposals appeared.

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lowing year *The Index Villaris*. 'His talent lies at projection', Dunton writes of him (p. 209) 'though I am thinking his Voyages and Travels will be a little *posthumous*. He is usually fortunate in what he goes in for.' Possibly Nicholson was the man behind the whole scheme. Harris was a divine of some standing in the scientific world, who however died in great poverty. He became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1696, delivered the Boyle Lectures two years later, and was Secretary of the Society in 1708. He has some reputation as the compiler of the first English encyclopaedia, the *Lexicon technicum, or an universal dictionary of arts and sciences*. It is not, however, necessary to dwell for long on his qualifications, for, from the way in which the collection is put together, it is not difficult to believe the statement of the editor of Astley's collection that Harris 'only wrote the Dedication and Introduction'. The work in fact shows little indication of a single and purposeful director. The collection was intended for the educated and leisured reader, as the list of subscribers, which includes many clergy, shows. In the dedication to the Queen, Harris hopes that it will be found entertaining as well as useful, and is confident that both the traveller and the reader will be abundantly convinced that 'Our own Religion, Government and Constitution, is, in the Main, much preferable to any he shall meet with abroad'.

The introduction is a considerable dissertation on the origin and migrations of peoples, followed by one on the ships and navigation of the ancients, packed with classical quotations. In the former, a special section is given to the peopling of America, in which Harris reconciles, to his own satisfaction, Scriptural authority and the observations and conjectures of geographers. He accepts the probability that 'Peruvians, Chilians and Mexicans received their first People from Cathay, East Indies and China, or some adjoining Nations as polite as those', basing this conclusion on the assumption that the northern island of Japan

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(Yezo) was perhaps part of the American continent, or at least adjacent to it; on the supposed correspondence between place names in China and in America; and on similarities in architectural style—‘the Architecture of the Inca’s in Peru, and all their mighty Buildings, Towers, &c., are exactly after the Chinese manner; their Cities also were vastly great, like those of China’. Harris was in fact a whole-hearted ‘diffusionist’, for he considered ‘Tis very likely therefore, that the Egyptians and Phoenicians went into China and there left part of their Language, Hieroglyphicks, Learning, Arts and Sciences’. The introduction concludes with extracts from Halley on the properties of the loadstone and magnetic variation.

The first volume covers the early period, to the publication of Purchas’s *Pilgrimes*, and is, with some exaggeration, said to contain ‘very many Authors, which are neither in Him nor Hakluyt’. Much of it however is a rehash of these two, very heavily cut and with omissions. Cocks’s account, for example, is treated thus, as being ‘long and tedious and besides intermixt with abundance of very vulgar, frivolous, and unprofitable Matters’. The first book deals with the circumnavigators down to, and including Schouten. The remainder of the volume is arranged in the order East Indies, Africa, Muscovy and northern parts, and America. To the Hakluyt-Purchas material, the editor has added A. de Beaulieu’s voyage to the East Indies, translated from Thevenot; for Africa considerable extracts from Sir T. Herbert’s travels and much from Leo Africanus with supplementary details from Marmol:¹ Tasman’s 1642 voyage, in Hooke’s abstract;² and for the Arctic, Captain T. James, and a few other voyagers, including John Wood and Flawes, from the *Account of Several Late Voyages and Discoveries* (1694). The

¹ Marmol Caravajal’s description of Africa was published in Spanish in 1573 and 1599. A French translation, *L’Afrique de Marmol, de la traduction de N. Perrot*, had appeared in 1667.

² See above, p. 73.

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account of de Beaulieu's *voyage* and the material taken from Marmol are translated for the first time into English.

The second volume follows much the same arrangement, with the addition of substantial narratives of travel in various European countries. It opens with lengthy abridgements of the Mandelslo and Olearius narratives of missions in Russia and Persia from John Davies's translation. These are followed by similar abstracts from J. B. Tavernier, J. Thevenot, P. Avril, Sir John Chardin, and Robert Knox, with some lesser pieces. None of these is translated for the first time, their works having appeared in English editions from 1660 onwards.

Beyond bringing a number of abridged versions together in two volumes, Harris's collection therefore has no outstanding merit. The texts are not treated critically, and sources are very sketchily indicated, if at all. The whole work shows, for instance in the miscellaneous scraps contained in the appendix, clear signs of the circumstances of its production, a last-minute attempt to compete with Churchill.

It is at least to the credit of the promoters that they furnished the volumes with numerous maps. Volume I contains a double sheet map of the world in two hemispheres, showing the courses of Drake, Schouten and Dampier, and maps of Asia, Africa and Europe. These bear no name of publisher or engraver. The second volume has three interesting maps, all bearing the name of H. Moll as engraver. The most important is *A New Chart of the Channell between England and France showing the sands [etc.] as they were observed in the year 1701 by Capt. Edm. Halley. Sold by Ier: Seller and Cha: Price.* This chart shows Halley's tidal observations, and is one of several versions published soon after his return. The other maps are *A New Map of the World according to Wrights alias Mercators Projection. Drawn... By Ricd. Mount, and A New Generall Chart for the West Indies of E. Wrights Projection vut. Mercators Chart. 1703.*

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Campbell

What is usually known as the second edition of Harris's collection¹ was published in two folio volumes from 1744 to 1748. It will be seen, however, that though the same general title and Harris's name were retained, the purpose, arrangement, and contents were quite different, so that the collection should more properly be known by the name of the new editor, Dr John Campbell, who is nowhere mentioned. Campbell was one of the most prolific writers and compilers of the time. He was prominent in London literary circles, and an acquaintance of Samuel Johnson, who once described him as 'the richest author that ever grazed the common of literature'. His interests were mainly historical, political, and economic, with a strong leaning towards geography as then understood. To the booksellers his qualifications for the task probably lay in his earlier works, *The Trials and Adventures of Edward Bevan, Esq.* (1739), a fictitious narrative embodying a great deal of topography and descriptions of various countries, *A Concise History of Spanish America*² (1741) and, perhaps primarily, his contributions to the large *Universal History*. To this he had contributed accounts of the European trading companies and settlements in the East Indies, and general histories of Spain and Portugal; among the contributors to this work were George Sale, the translator of the Koran, Captain Shelvocke, the circumnavigator, and George Psalmanazar.

His qualifications are summed up in Dr Johnson's verdict, coloured by the academic prejudices of his time: 'In the first place he has very good parts. In the second place, he has very

¹ *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca; or a complete collection of voyages and travels, consisting of above 600 of the most authentic writers.... By Dr John Harris, F.R.S. Carefully revised, with large additions, and continued down to the present time: including particular accounts of the manufactures and commerce of each country.* 2 vols. Fo. London, 1744-8.

² Some passages from this earlier work are incorporated in the collection.

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extensive reading; not, perhaps, what is properly called learning, but history, politics, and, in short, that popular knowledge which makes a man very useful.'

Campbell's intention was to present a 'complete Body of Voyages and Travels', on a systematic plan. To reduce the bulk of such a collection, much abridgement was necessary, but the editor aimed at preserving 'the Substance and Spirit' of the original authors. Though he hoped the result would be pleasant and entertaining, his predominant object was practical,¹ to indicate 'the Possibility of opening up fresh Channels of Trade'. Campbell was strongly opposed to all restrictions on commerce, and attacks 'the Tyranny of exclusive Companies', i.e. the East India Company and the South Sea Company. He gave much attention to the circumnavigators because he wished to show that voyages to the Pacific were not as difficult as was commonly thought, and that the misfortunes which had attended many of them were largely due to ignorance, lack of planning, and faulty organization. His purpose was to persuade his countrymen to follow up the work of Quiros and Dampier, for 'we cannot entertain the least Doubt of the Possibility of finding, in the Southern Part of the Globe, Countries worth our looking after'.

In the arrangement and selection of his material he departed considerably from the first edition; in fact the two have little in common, and Campbell refers to the earlier as 'Dr Harris's Collection'. He abandoned the scheme of devoting the first volume to the period before 1625, on the ground that it interrupted the regional treatment, and he claimed to have compared the versions contained in the first edition with the originals, and to have supplied all omissions and corrected all errors. There are really two elements in his work: abridged narratives of voyagers and travellers, and lengthy treatises on history and commerce.

¹ The work is dedicated to the Merchants of Britain.

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The first volume opens with accounts of the circumnavigators, with a few supplementary pieces. These are followed by a treatise on the discovery, settlement, and commerce of the East Indies and accounts of early travellers in Asia, interspersed with histories of the rise of Portuguese power and of the English, Dutch, Imperial, Danish, and Swedish trading companies. For much of this Campbell no doubt drew largely upon the material collected for his contributions to the *Universal History*. The second volume begins with the four voyages of Columbus, and continues with accounts of the Spanish conquests and of the British settlements in North America. This section attained some reputation in its time, and is said to have been used by Edmund Burke. The next section, with the sub-title 'Voyages towards the North', includes attempts on the North-West Passage, rather summarily treated, and merges into a solid body of European travels, all of which had appeared elsewhere. Finally Campbell turns to Asia, where with the Jesuit travels in the empire of China the collection comes to a sudden end, without the planned sections on Africa and America. Evidently Astley was not the only publisher to find the times unfavourable to an ambitious undertaking.

On the whole, Campbell includes little material which can be described as original. He claims, however, some originality for his accounts of Roggewein's and Clipperton's voyages. Of Roggewein he writes: 'We stand indebted for the Journal of this Voyage to the Gentleman who commanded the Land Forces that were on board the Commodore, whose name I am not at Liberty to mention, or that of another Person, who made the Voyage, and from whom I have received considerable Assistance.' It is probable that the first reference is to C. F. Behrens, who was Corporal of Marines with the expedition. If so, it is difficult to understand Campbell's air of secrecy, as Behrens's account¹ had already appeared in German and French. Camp-

¹ C. F. Behrens, *Reise durch die Süd-Länder und um die Welt*, Frankfort, 1737.

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bell's account of Clipperton's voyage is stated to be 'from an authentic Journal'. Clipperton died shortly after his return, without publishing a narrative (versions had been given by Betagh and Shelvocke), so that this account may have some slight historical importance.¹ There are one or two other indications that this edition may contain some original material. The description of Persia, for example, is said to be 'collected as well from private Memoirs as from Accounts that have been published', and the Russian discoveries are 'collected from the best Authorities both Printed and Manuscript'. Unfortunately he does not indicate the information hitherto unpublished or the sources; it does not appear likely that it was extensive. Campbell depended, therefore, very largely upon other collections and the published narratives of individual travellers. The twenty-one voyagers in the section on circumnavigations fall into two groups: ten in the period ending with L'Hermite's voyage of 1623, and eleven in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Most of the first group had appeared in Hakluyt or Purchas, but he sometimes gives fuller accounts, making use for example of the *Receuil* published in 1702 for the Dutch voyages,² and of the 1619 English version of Schouten.³ He claims that his version of L'Hermite's voyage was the first to have appeared in English, being unaware apparently of the seventeenth-century translation.⁴

In the second group, eight are English, and their narratives had appeared independently, or in the Hacke and Dampier collections, with the exception of Clipperton. The other three are Tasman, Pelsart, and Roggewein. The Tasman version is 'a new and full translation' from Dirk Rembrantse, and not

¹ It is just possible that Campbell obtained it through Shelvocke.

² *Receuil des voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement et aux progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, etc.* 12mo. Amsterdam, 1702.

³ *The Relation of a Wonderfull Voiage, etc.* London, 1619.

⁴ J. L'Hermite, *A True Relation of the Fleet which went... through the Straights of Magellane, etc.* 4to. London, 1625.

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from Hooke's abstract.¹ Pelsart's adventures in Western Australian waters are translated for the first time from Thevenot, and Roggewein, as mentioned above, is probably derived from Behrens. These three at least are 'original' English versions.

The remaining material does not call for detailed discussion. Much was derived from Melchisedec Thevenot's collection and from the travels and descriptions of J. B. Tavernier, J. Thevenot, Sir John Chardin and Ysbrandt Ides. It may be noted that Marco Polo is taken from Ramusio 'compared with an original Manuscript in his Prussian Majesty's Library, and with most of the Translations hitherto published'. This is no doubt a reference to A. Müller's edition, which Campbell cites.

Campbell's edition is well provided with maps and illustrations. Of the twenty-two maps and charts, sixteen bear the name of Emmanuel Bowen and three are dated (1747 or 1748). Many of the more general maps are improved versions of those which appeared in Bowen's *Complete System of Geography*, though this was published while Campbell's work was appearing. Some, however, were apparently specially prepared for this edition. One of these is the notable map of Nova Hollandia, embodying all the Dutch discoveries of the Australian, New Zealand, and neighbouring coasts.² This was engraved by Bowen, but the others are without names of compilers or engravers, i.e. *India before the fifth century*, *A map of Marco Polo's voyage and travels* and the *Map of India on the west side of the Ganges*.

Another edition of this collection was issued in 1764 by Osborne and others, but it is merely a reprint of Campbell's, also with Bowen's maps.

¹ See above, p. 76.

² *A complete map of the Southern Continent surveyed by Capt. Abel Tasman and depicted by order of the East India Company in Holland in the Stadt House at Amsterdam. E. Bowen sculp.* This map had been published in Thevenot's *Relation*, 1663, vol. 1, and was derived from a Dutch source, perhaps the Blaeu globe of c. 1647.

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Astley

While Campbell's work was in course of publication, a rival enterprise was begun by Thomas Astley, a well-known bookseller and publisher of the day, and the *New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*¹ is generally known as Astley's Voyages. Though Astley was a prominent member of his profession, little seems to be known about him. In April 1747 in company with Edward Cave he was arrested for printing an account of the trial of Simon Lord Lovat, but was eventually discharged after examination by the House of Lords. This incident may have been responsible for the somewhat abrupt termination of his *New General Collection*.

There is no direct evidence in the volumes themselves as to the identity of the editor. Bibliographers of the early nineteenth century, however, confidently attribute it to John Green, though without supporting their assertion or providing any information about him. J. S. Clarke says, for example,² 'Of its anonymous author Mr John Green I can give no account', and this identification is accepted by Pinkerton and Kerr. A clue is offered by Lowndes, who identifies John Green with the author of an anonymous *Journey from Aleppo to Damascus*,³ the dedication to which has the initials J.G. appended. This proves to be a collection of miscellaneous pieces edited by one employing methods

¹ *New General Collection of Voyages and Travels, consisting of the most esteemed relations which have hitherto been published in any language, comprehending everything remarkable in its kind, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, . . . and the gradual alterations that from time to time have happened in each; . . . so as to form a complete system of modern geography and history of all nations.* 4 vols. 4to. London, 1745-7.

² *The Progress of Maritime Discovery*, 1803, vol. 1, p. xvi. Clarke makes a tentative identification, based only on 'the similarity of name', with the Rev. John Green 'who kept a School in Soho' and was a brother of Charles Green the astronomer who sailed with Cook's first voyage.

³ *A Journey from Aleppo to Damascus: with a Description of . . . the Neighbouring Parts of Syria. To which is added An Account of the Maronites, etc.* 8vo. Map. London, 1736.

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very similar to those of the Astley editor: for example, he has 'strip'd them [i.e. the narratives] of all the Superfluities with which they are accompanied in the Original'. Other small pieces of evidence make it very probable that 'J.G.' and the Astley editor were one and the same. In particular the map¹ in the *Journey* bears the legend 'A line drawn under the Name of a place denotes the latitude being observed and two lines both the Latitude and the Longitude', the method employed for the maps in the Astley Collection.

It is, therefore, permissible to look for a John Green of the period whose known work resembles that of the Astley editor and of 'J.G.'. An examination of the *Remarks*² on a new chart of America signed by John Green, which appeared in 1753, shows that there can be little doubt that he was the editor of the earlier works. The same methods of indicating observed positions are employed, and there is the same insistence on the importance of stating the source of the observations on which the map is based. An examination of the pamphlet shows also that it was written from an extensive knowledge of contemporary geographical work.

There is also evidence that in all probability Green was the translator of the edition of Du Halde published by Edward Cave.³ Much of the fourth volume of Astley is derived from du Halde, and the editor shows a detailed knowledge of, and

¹ *A Map of the Road from Aleppo to Damascus*. This was engraved by E. Bowen.

² *Remarks, in support of the New Chart of North and South America; in six sheets*. London, T. Jeffery, 1753. Green was responsible for a number of other charts, published in this and the following decade.

³ Du Halde, *Description of the Empire of China and Chinese Tartary together with the Kingdoms of Korea and Tibet... From the French of J. B. du Halde with notes... by the translator*. 2 vols. Fo. Plates and maps. London, 1738-41. The French original was published in Paris in 1735. This work was compiled from the reports of the Jesuit missionaries who in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were engaged in making the great survey of China. The results were published by D'Anville in his *Nouvel Atlas de la Chine*, 1737.

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great interest in, the work of the Jesuits in China. But there are other and more convincing reasons for the identification. As is mentioned below, the editor of Astley took great pains to reduce the orthography of geographical names in English to a uniform system. The translator and editor of du Halde held similar views on this problem, and the tables of Chinese syllables in both works are identical.

This similarity of views also extends to maps. The Astley editor writes: 'It has ever been a Custom with me in drawing Maps or Charts, to mark with Lines under the Names, such Places whose Situations had been determined by Astronomers,' and on several of the maps appears the legend 'A stroke under the name of a place denotes the latitude observed by astronomers and two strokes both the latitude and longitude. & pricked lines shew the observations to have been made by skillful mariners'. Now this is the very practice advocated and adopted by the translator of du Halde, as set out in the Translator's Preface to that work.

It is possible of course that the editor of Astley took his system of transliteration from the translator of du Halde, but the conjunction with the method of indicating astronomical observations, claimed as a personal innovation, and the common interest in Chinese affairs render this unlikely. It is curious that the identity of the translator of du Halde should also be shrouded in anonymity, for the work attracted considerable attention when it appeared, and Dr Johnson reviewed it extremely favourably and at some length in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (vol. xii, p. 17) without naming the translator.¹ However, the circumstantial evidence that John Green, the cartographer, was the editor of Astley's collection appears to be strong.

¹ The translator of du Halde was disturbed by the state of cartography in his day, due to the want of certainty in indicating the situation of places, and writes of 'the little Esteem, or rather great Contempt, that Maps are in here'. John Green expressed very much the same view in his *Remarks*.

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Green (if the identification be accepted) gives in the prefaces to the four volumes of the *New General Collection* much interesting information about his aims and the circumstances attending their publication. The work was to be a systematic collection of voyages and travels, improving upon the first edition of Harris and adding later narratives, restoring 'all the Authors castrated in Harris, as well as those maimed by Purchas, so far as he (the compiler) hath been able to come at the Originals', and 'enriching the Collection with a considerable Number of foreign Itineraries, which were never made English before'. The editorial method, and this was the chief point seized upon by the critics, was to divide the material into two sections. 'We separate his [the traveller's] Journal and Adventures from his Remarks on Countries: The first we give by itself; the latter we incorporate with the Remarks of other Travellers to the same Parts', the former being called 'Abstracts', the latter 'Digests'. This plan is mainly justified as securing the elimination of unnecessary matter and reducing the bulk of the Collection, but it is of interest as marking a stage in the evolution of descriptive geography from the raw material provided by travellers. This is illustrated by the editor's comment: 'By the present undertaking we have had the Improvement of Geography, Navigation, and Natural History, principally in View, by bringing together a sufficient Quantity of Materials, for making accurate Maps, Charts and Descriptions of foreign Countries', and so producing finally 'a system of Modern Geography and History, as well as a Body of Voyages and Travels'. The compiler places particular stress on the maps which accompany his volumes. He proposes to include only those maps 'taken by the Travellers on the Spot, or copied from those of the Natives' and draughts and plans of coasts and harbours from the best authors. In some cases he proposed to combine the work of several authors into one map, or when there is a number of particular maps of one country to 'make

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general Maps serve instead of them'. The maps of travellers falling far short of covering all coasts and countries, he will have recourse to the 'best Draughts or Surveys, published by the Hydrographers, or Geographers', those in his volumes having frequently been 'new-drawn from the best Authorities and Materials, particularly those collected in this Work'. One creditable feature of these maps is the distinguishing of the towns whose positions had been determined by astronomical observations as mentioned above, and the compiler is careful to include tables of positions, when available, in the text. Another practice to which he draws particular attention is the setting out of itineraries through little-known countries at the foot of the page, so that the work may be of greater value to geographers. His general method in compiling the maps may be illustrated by a quotation from the preface of Volume IV.

The Maps are accommodated both to the Descriptions and Travels. We have attempted even to adapt some to the History of Jenghiz Khân and Relation of Polo,¹ as far as concerns Tartary and China, in order to exhibit in some Measure the State of Countries in those Times. M. D'Anville's general Map of Tartary, as given by the Translator of Du Halde, being exhibited by a proper Scale, and more agreeable to the larger Draughts of the Jesuits, than his other Maps, has served for the Ground-work of most of ours. However we have made several considerable Alterations where we found necessary, particularly in the Maps of Western Tartary and Karazam. We have likewise drawn the Meridians through different Places, in order to extend the Country from West to East, which he had too much constricted in his Maps, in Consequence of adopting the Notion of the prolate Figure of the Earth.

There are eight maps in Volume I, which constitute a complete survey of the coasts from the Straits of Gibraltar to Cape Comorin in southern India. These are based on the French

¹ No special map to illustrate Marco Polo is contained in this collection, though one appears in Campbell's.

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charts of the Western and Eastern Oceans published by order of the Count de Maurepas in 1738 and 1740, 'improved from particular Surveys and regulated by Astronomical Observations'. The method of indicating positions fixed astronomically has been already noted.¹ The system of consecutive sheets is not continued in Volume II, but this volume contains fifteen maps of the coast from Cape Blanco to the Gold Coast drawn from English and French sources, with additions. It was part of the compiler's aim to provide material to assist navigators, and this concentration on West Africa is understandable in the light of contemporary British interests. They include a map in two sheets of the River Gambia by Captain John Leach, 1732. Volume III has seven maps completing the African section. The seven maps in Volume IV are perhaps the most interesting. They are based upon D'Anville's maps from the Jesuit surveys,² 'with improvements', and include the *Map of Great Tibet drawn from that made by the Lama Mathematicians in 1717*, which was not improved upon for more than one hundred years, and *The Empire of Hya (including great part of Tangul) adapted to the history of Jenghiz Khan*. The engravers of the maps in the four volumes are T. Kitchin, G. Child, J. Basire and N. Parr. In addition, there are numerous plans, views and illustrations in each volume.

Another matter to which the editor paid attention was the accurate rendering of geographical names. His remarks on orthography are still so much to the point that he deserves to rank as an important authority on this subject. His attempt to reach a standard English spelling for place names variously rendered in the literature of his day was an attack on a problem still to be satisfactorily resolved. His method of considering separately the Roman alphabets on the one hand, and the non-Roman alphabets and non-alphabetical scripts on the other is still valid; and his suggested conventional alphabet for reducing foreign

¹ See above, p. 100.

² See above, p. 99.

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names to English orthography has much in common with the R.G.S. II system in use to-day. His notes on the Chinese language (vol. iv, pp. 192-201), though based upon the work of others, are extraordinarily clear, and show great appreciation of the language. The syllabary in English, Portuguese and French transcriptions may still be useful.¹

Each section of the Collection has an introduction which indicates briefly the setting of the journeys which follow, and gives an outline of the sources, generally citing the first printed text and the translations into other languages, in many cases with short appreciations of their individual value. For the particular text used for the abridgement, the compiler makes a point of stating the number of pages, and of the illustrations and maps if any. All the narratives, incidentally, are transcribed in the third person, a practice which seems to have been criticized by some of the subscribers.

Volume I begins with an account of the Portuguese voyages to the East, and the establishment of their empire down to about the year 1550. This is drawn from the Portuguese historians, the foundation being Castanheda, supplemented by Faria y Sousa.²

The only unusual item here is a version of Soleyman Basha's voyage from Suez to India on his expedition against the Portuguese at Diu, written by an anonymous Venetian, and translated for the occasion from the 1545 Aldine edition of the *Viaggi fatti alla Tana*. The next section deals with the English voyages to Guinea and the East, and ends with William Adams's sojourn in Japan. This is substantially an abridgement of the relevant

¹ He was probably the first to use *dh* for the sound of *th* in *this*, and he was aware of the possibilities of *zh* (vol. iv, p. 197, footnote). For these notes on orthography, we are indebted to Mr M. Rousseau, Secretary of the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names.

² The editor has made use of Lichfield's translation of Castanheda, *History of the Discovery and Conquest of the East Indies*, London, 1582, and of Captain Stevens's translation of Faria, *Portuguese Asia*, London, 1695.

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material in Hakluyt and Purchas, to which the editor has added Robert Coverte's *True and almost incredible Report*, London, 1612.

The final section brings together a number of voyages to the Canary and Cape Verde Islands, the principal being the two fifteenth-century voyages of Alvise da Ca dà Mosto to the Senegal and the Gambia, with his reputed discovery of the Cape Verde Islands, and the rutter of P. da Sintra along the coast beyond Sierra Leone, translated for the first time from Ramusio;¹ and the African portion of Captain George Roberts's *Account of a voyage to the Islands of the Canaries, Cape de Verde, and Barbadoes, in 1721*, published in London in 1726.

Volume II consists mainly of French and English voyages to Western Africa and of systematic descriptions of the country. Those which appear for the first time in English include Claude Jannequin's account of the Kingdom of Senegal;² and André Brue's three voyages up the Senegal and to the Bissagos, 1697-1715, from Labat.³ With the exception of Jobson, the only English voyagers are Bartholomew Stibbs, who ascended the Gambia in 1714, and Francis Moore, whose interesting account of his experiences in that region, with much material from Leo Africanus, had recently been published.⁴

The next section deals with Guinea and Benin: in this the editor includes a summarized translation of Loyer's voyage to Issni on the Gold Coast in 1701, from the French original.⁵ The English accounts are all abstracted from books which had recently been published; W. Snelgrave's *New Account of some Parts of Guinea, and the slave trade*, 1734; William Smith's *New*

¹ G. B. Ramusio, *Delle navigationi e viaggi*, Venice, vol. I, 1554.

² C. Jannequin, *Voyage de Lybie au royaume de Senega, le long du Niger*. 12mo. Paris, 1643.

³ J. B. Labat, *Nouvelle relation de l'Afrique occidentale*. 5 vols. 12mo. Paris, 1728. This was based upon Brue's papers.

⁴ Francis Moore, *Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa*, 1738. This includes an account of Stibbes.

⁵ G. Loyer, *Relation du voyage du Royaume d'Issyry*. Paris, 1714.

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Voyage to Guinea, 1744; and John Atkin's *Voyage to Guinea, Brazil, and the West Indies, 1735*.

The third volume completes the African portion and opens that on Asia. The conclusion of Guinea is supplied by a first translation (from Labat's edition of des Marchais)¹ of the Sieur d'Elbée's voyage to Ardrah and travels to the capital, Assem, in 1669-70, with the account from the same work of Matteo Lopez's mission to Louis XIV on behalf of the King of Ardrah. A summarized translation of des Marchais's own experiences in Guinea is in Volume II.

For the Congo and southern Africa, the editor makes use of material already published in the Churchill collection for the missionary travels of M. Angelo, D. de Carli and J. Merolla, as he had also for some of the West African voyagers, (He acknowledges this obliquely, referring to 'one of our great Collections.') He depends for his account of southern Africa almost entirely on Kolben,² making use of the English translation by G. Medley, supplemented by information from Churchill's version of Ten Rhyn. For the east coast of Africa, the sole authority is Alexander Hamilton,³ with some material from the Portuguese historians.

The first section on Asia is entitled 'Voyages and travels in the Empire of China', and it is continued in the fourth volume, which concludes with 'Travels through Tartary, Tibet and Bukharia, to and from China'. This section seems to have engaged the interest of the compiler most closely; his enthusiasm for every aspect of China and her civilization—'the terrestrial Paradise of the present World'—is very apparent. Certainly the travels and descriptions of Jesuit missionaries and

¹ J. B. Labat, *Voyage du Chevalier des Marchais en Guinée, etc.* 4 vols. 12mo. Paris, 1730.

² Peter Kolben, *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope...done into English by Mr Medley.* 2 vols. London, 1731.

³ Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, 1727.

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European envoys provide him with a wealth of material which he handles with assurance.

The numerous Jesuit relations in du Halde's compilation form the foundation; a translation of this, *A Description of the Empire of China*, had recently been published in two volumes (1738-41). The compiler of Astley gives useful details of the work of each individual traveller, with bibliographical references, and candidly continues: 'Although we have made use of all the above-mentioned Authors, yet it must be confessed, it hath been done, in a good Measure, under the guidance of *Du Halde*, who had before extracted from them what appeared most worthy of Credit.' This care to indicate his sources and his precision of references are the great merit of this compiler. In addition to what he abstracted from du Halde, he was at some pains to add material from less accessible sources. To him is due the credit for the first English versions of A. Gaubil's journey¹ from Canton to Pekin in 1722; the mission² of C. A. Mezzabarba to the Imperial Court in 1720; the embassy of Shah Rukh to the Emperor of China in 1719, from M. Thevenot;³ H. Desideri's Tibetan travels,⁴ 1714; and H. de la Penna's account of the Capuchin mission in Tibet.⁵ This group of five new travellers was no negligible contribution to the contemporary English records.

From du Halde, the compiler took, among much other material, his versions of F. Verbiest's journeys in Eastern Tartary, 1682, J. F. Gerbillon's extensive travels in Western Tartary between 1688 and 1698 to obtain data for the map of China,

¹ From E. Souciet, *Observations mathématiques, astronomiques, . . . tirées des anciennes livres Chinois ou faites nouvellement aux Indes et à la Chine, par les Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus*. 4to. Paris, 1729. Vol. I, pp. 127-37.

² From a summary of P. Viani's account in the *Bibliothèque raisonnée*, vol. xxv, Amsterdam, 1740.

³ M. Thevenot, *Relation de divers voyages*, Nouv. éd., 1696.

⁴ *Lettres édifiantes*, vol. xv, 1722.

⁵ *Nouvelle bibliothèque, ou histoire littéraire*, vol. xiv, La Haye, 1743.

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and J. B. Régis's description of Korea. The account of the Dutch East Indian mission to the Emperor of China in 1655 is drawn from John Ogilby's translation of Nieuhoff,¹ compared with Thevenot's version. Finally, he obtained from Churchill his abstracts of J. F. Gemelli Careri's travels in China, 1695; H. Hamel's account of the Dutch shipwreck on Quelpaert; and D. F. Navarette's description of China.

The compiler's interest in obtaining up-to-date information led him to be impatient of the early travellers, whom he treated very summarily:

With regard to the Relations of *Marco Polo*, *Carpini*, and the other early *Missioners* into Tartary, we must likewise inform our Readers, that we do not intend to tire them with their long winded Descriptions of the *Tartar* inhabitants and their Conquests... but shall confine ourselves to what relates simply to the Geography and History of the Countries they passed through.

In fact much of the Central Asian material is historical, including a life of Ghengiz Khan, and for this the compiler draws upon Bentinck's translation of Abu'l Ghazi,² and, for the Chinese point of view, on A. Gaubil's history.³

Unfortunately, the times were not propitious for large scale undertakings—the first volume appeared in 1745—and the work came to a sudden end. There was evidently trouble with a rival, for the compiler writes of 'the Prejudices conceived very early against it from the *virulent Aspersions* thrown-on it by one Rival in Trade', and expresses the hope that the publisher will not suffer financially for his enterprise. The work must, however,

¹ J. Nieuhoff, *The embassy from the East India Company to the Grand Tartar Cham, etc.*, 1669.

² Abu'l Ghazi, *A General History of the Turks, Moguls, and Tatars... The whole made English from the French*. 2 vols. London, 1730, 1729.

³ A. Gaubil, *Histoire de Gentchiscan... tirée de l'Histoire Chinoise et traduit par le R. P. Gaubil*. 4to. Paris, 1734. The compiler of Astley informs his readers that he was 'designing, on another Occasion, to publish the Whole' in translation, but this does not appear to have been printed.

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have attracted considerable attention for a French translation was begun by the Abbé Prévost while the first volume was coming out,¹ and a German translation appeared soon after.² This international tribute was deserved by a work which, despite its shortcomings and the attacks of later compilers—who incidentally made good use of it—possessed certain merits.

Minor general collections

We now turn to the lesser collections of the period. By the middle of the eighteenth century the vogue for travel collections created among landed gentry and merchants by the imposing works already examined had spread to the large middle-class reading public at a lower economic level, and the booksellers were not slow to exploit it. Few smaller collections appeared in the early part of the century, but by 1760 they were flowing with a good head and in the forty years to 1800 they were in full spate. Although a few contain original material presented in a useful form, most of these compilations derived from the great collections, and they form an episode rather in the development of the book trade and of literary fashions than in that of historical geography. In the later eighteenth century, as in our own day, much effort was spent in the popularization of knowledge; as Johnson said, 'every day brings new advertisements of literary undertakings, and we are flattered with repeated promises of growing wise on easier terms than our progenitors'.

Many of the minor collections give no editor's name, and

¹ A. F. Prévost d'Exiles, *Histoire générale des voyages*. 20 vols. 4to. Paris, 1746-89. The first seven volumes are practically a translation of Astley. Prévost was, incidentally, the author of the celebrated romance *Histoire de Manon Lescaut*. This is an interesting example of the relations between the literature of travel and the general literary developments of the day.

² *Allgemeine Historie der Reisen zu Wasser und Lande*. 21 vols. 4to. Leipzig, 1747-77. This is mainly a translation of Prévost.

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most were no doubt produced by hack-writers belonging to a 'literary factory' of the type maintained by wealthy publishers like Strahan or Dodsley and popular authors like Smollett. The publisher now paid the piper and called the tune (Dr Johnson could say that Dodsley was his real patron); and competition for the ear of the public was fierce. The editors for the most part had small pretensions to geographical scholarship, and the working conditions of Grub Street did not encourage original research or careful editing. The Rev. Patrick Barclay, in the preface to his *Universal Traveller* (1735), gives us a glimpse of these conditions. Barclay admits that he was 'much a stranger to the subject' when he undertook his task and that he could have produced a better book had he not been constantly pressed for copy by the printer. He adds:

However easy for readers, and the less rich purchasers of books, the modern way of publishing (at so many sheets a week or month) may be... it is a great hardship upon an author, or compiler, to be hurried to keep the press going. I shall not take upon me to explode this way of writing: I know I have a great number of fellow-labourers, who, perhaps, for reasons little different from mine, are concerned in this way of publishing books of different kinds.

It is not surprising to find Barclay apologizing for his geographical mistakes, in particular the statement (borrowed from Churchill's introduction) that 'the variation of the compass is always the same in the same place'. The cheaper works of this type were usually published in periodical parts, the more pretentious by subscription.

The common editorial method of correcting the 'dry and disgusting prolixity of the geographers' is well described in the preface to Smollett's collection (1756). After asserting that 'we live in an age of levity and caprice that can relish little besides works of fancy', Smollett complains that the major collections are

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...so stuffed with dry descriptions of bearings and distances, tides and current, variations of the compass, leeway, wind and weather, sounding, anchoring, and other terms of navigation, that none but mere pilots or seafaring people can read them without disgust. Our aim has been to clear away this kind of rubbish... We have not only retrenched the superfluities, but endeavoured to polish the stile, strengthen the connexion of incidents, and animate the narration, wherever it seemed to languish.

The original accounts, largely copied without acknowledgement from earlier collections, were shortened, rewritten in the third person, combined with others to form a continuous narrative, and interspersed with extracts and the editor's (often banal) commentary. This is a dreary class of literature; we cannot but agree with the sour judgement of Knox's editor,¹ who tells us that the success of the major collections, 'has produced many smaller abridgements... but little known, and after their first publication little called for', and applaud Johnson's slashing attack in *The Idler* (No. 59):

Few of those who fill the world with books have any pretensions to the hope either of pleasing or instructing. They have often no other task than to lay two books before them, out of which they compile a third, without any new materials of their own... Surely, there ought to be some bounds to repetition; libraries ought no more to be heaped for ever with the same thoughts differently expressed, than with the same books differently decorated.

Such compilations could but faintly reflect the rapid development of geographical knowledge and thought, and we need make only a cursory survey of them and of their editors.

It happens that the earliest of the smaller collections—that of John Stevens—has some claim to originality and usefulness. After the successful conclusion of England's long struggle with Spain for freedom of the oceanic trade routes, it was naturally

¹ See below, p. 117.

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to Spanish and Portuguese (and, to a lesser extent, Dutch and French) accounts that Englishmen turned for knowledge of the newly opened coasts and seas. Among the writers active in providing for this demand was 'Captain' John Stevens, a Jacobite soldier of fortune who after serving in James II's Irish campaigns, became an indefatigable translator of geographical and historical works, mainly from¹ Spanish and Portuguese sources. In 1708-10 James Knapton printed some of these in *A New Collection of Voyages and Travels...* *None of them ever before printed in English*; later parts bore the title *A View of the Universe: or, a New Collection of Voyages and Travels.*¹ Stevens's name appears only in the dedication to Cieza de Leon's travels; but he is generally supposed to have edited the whole collection. Although the arrangement of the texts is unsystematic, the claim to originality in the title is justified. Here English readers encountered for the first time such valuable descriptions as Argensola's *Discovery and Conquest of the Molucco and Philippine Islands* (1609); *A New Voyage to Carolina*, by John Lawson, surveyor-general of North Carolina, who went out in 1700 and was killed by Indians in 1712; Pedro Cieza de Leon's account of his Peruvian travels, 1532-50; Pedro Teixeira's overland journey from Ormuz to Italy in 1604-5; *A Voyage to Madagascar*, by François Caudre, who visited the island in a Dutch ship in 1638; and *The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia...* *Collected... by F. Balthazar Tellez* (1660), with a reproduction of his map.

While this collection was designed as a miscellany for the entertainment of the urbane reader, its variety of topics illustrates the wider field in which that reader was newly interested. He now looked beyond Europe, the Levant and the Near East, and his curiosity was engaged by the East Indies, by the Pacific and by China. The great debate on the East Indian monopoly focussed public attention on India and the Archipelago. The

¹ 7 parts. 4°. London, 1708-10. Reissued in 2 vols., 1711.

interest in the Pacific aroused by the buccaneers and by Dampier was kept alive during the first half of the century by the circum-navigations of Woodes Rogers (1708-11) and Anson (1740-4) and by Knapton's collected edition (1729) of Dampier's voyages and Hacke's collection. Interest in China, which, following the lead of France, generated the fashion for 'chinoiserie' in English taste and applied arts of the eighteenth century, was fed by a series of publications, mainly translated from the Jesuit reports. Accounts of China and the Pacific became prominent in the general collections which are now to be surveyed.

The Rev. Patrick Barclay, D.D., was more interested in theological controversy than in geography, and *The Universal Traveller* (1735), edited by him, is unimpressive. It is dedicated to 'the Worthy Merchants of the City of London', and gives an account of discoveries in America (Book I) and Asia (Book II). A second volume, on Africa and Europe, was promised but never appeared. Barclay's introduction on the progress of navigation is abridged from Churchill's, and his material, which he has digested and condensed into a continuous narrative in the third person, is mainly borrowed from Hakluyt, Purchas, Harris and Ogilby's *America*. Other sources freely used are Tavernier, Jean Thevenot, Dampier, Churchill's collection and Thomas Salmon's *Modern Geography*. Portuguese discoveries in both hemispheres are conspicuously omitted, no doubt for later treatment under Africa.

Daniel Coxe's *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (3 vols., 4°, 1741) contains reissues of three works—a 1740 edition of James's north-west voyage, a French account of the taking of Cartagena in 1697, and Coxe's own *Description of the English Province called Carolana* (first published 1722). His father held a patent from the Crown for the Mississippi valley, and Coxe designed his work as propaganda to excite public interest in the region and jealousy of its occupation by the French; its preface expounds 'what is believed to be the first printed plan for a

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political confederation of the North American colonies'.¹ Coxe himself, after a stormy career as a colonial legislator, became a pioneer of freemasonry in America.

John Barrow, a teacher of mathematics and author of textbooks on mathematics and navigation and of a dictionary of arts and sciences (1751), produced in 1756 *A Chronological Abridgement or History of the Discoveries made by Europeans in the different parts of the world*.² Barrow's expert knowledge appears in the brief introduction on navigation, which ends with a reference to Harrison's new chronometer. The collection is a miscellany of much variety and little originality, commencing with Columbus and closing with Martin's description of St Kilda and Russian voyages for a North-East Passage. The materials are digested almost entirely from earlier collections and recent popular works such as those of Woodes Rogers and Anson.

Tobias Smollett's voluminous output in the seventeen-fifties included *A Compendium of Authentic and Entertaining Voyages, digested in a chronological series* (7 vols., 8°, 1756; 2nd ed. 1766), published by Strahan, Dodsley and others. At this time Smollett was editing the *Critical Review* and writing his copious *History of England* (at the rate of a century a month), and his collection not unnaturally lacks originality. The selection and arrangement of the materials, which are largely borrowed from Churchill and Harris, may be cited as typical of several similar collections. Smollett leads off with Columbus, followed by Vasco da Gama, Cabral and Cortes's conquest of Mexico (Volume i); there follow Pizarro's conquest of Peru and Spanish explorations of Florida (Volume ii); Magellan's circumnavigation, Drake's and Raleigh's voyages, Roe's mission to India, and Jens Munk's Greenland voyage (Volume iii);

¹ *Dict. of American Biography*.

² 2 vols., 12°, London, 1751. 2nd ed. 1764-5, entitled *A Collection of Authentic, Useful, and Entertaining Voyages and Discoveries*.

various Arctic narratives, Captain Thomas James, and Nieuhoff's East Indian and Brazilian travels (Volume IV); Baldaeus on Ceylon and Malabar, voyages to North Europe, memoirs on Russia, Wafer's sojourn on the Isthmus (Volume V); and the circumnavigations of Dampier, Gemelli Careri, Woodes Rogers and Anson (Volumes VI and VII). The maps, agreeably decorated by rococo cartouches, are by Thomas Jefferys.

John Newbery achieved considerable success with his collection entitled *The World displayed; or, a curious collection of voyages and travels... in which the conjectures and interpolations of several vain editors and translators are expunged* (20 vols., 18°, 1759-61). Newbery was a well-known bookseller and vendor of patent medicines with a strong commercial sense; the celebrated versions of children's tales published, and in some cases probably written, by him survive in our nurseries to-day; and his collection of voyages and travels was sufficiently popular to run into four editions before 1780. Johnson, who made a good-humoured caricature of Newbery as 'Jack Whirler' in *The Idler* (No. 19), wrote the unsigned introduction to the collection. Boswell tells us that 'an inquiry into the state of foreign countries was an object that seems at all times to have interested Johnson. Hence Mr Newbery found no great difficulty in persuading him to write the Introduction to *The World displayed*.' The introduction is devoted to the early Portuguese discoveries under Prince Henry, no account of which is included. The arrangement is regional, Volumes I-VII dealing with America and the circumnavigations; Volumes VIII-XVI with Asia, including the Levant and the Pacific; Volumes XVII and XVIII with Africa; and Volumes XVIII-XX with Europe.

Newbery attempted to give his work topical interest by adding to the standard older materials, taken from the usual sources, a number of recently printed narratives, generally abridged and sometimes rewritten in the third person. These

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are derived partly from Harris and Astley, partly from separate editions. Thus the European travels include those of J. G. Keysler (English translation 1756), Sacheverell Stevens in France (1756), E. Pontoppidan's *Natural History of Norway* (translated 1755) and the Lapland journey of Maupertuis for the measurement of an arc of the meridian (translated 1738). For Africa, the reader is given Francis Moore's travels (from Astley), John Windus's *Journey to Mequinez* (1725), Thomas Shaw's Barbary travels (1738), and the Egyptian parts of Pococke's *Description of the East* (1743-5). The Syrian travels include those of Pococke, Maundrell and Shaw. Among the other recent works abstracted are Jonas Hanway's *Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea, with...journals of travels through Russia into Persia* (1753) and Henry Ellis's report on the English expedition to Hudson's Bay in 1746-7.

An anonymous compilation of 1760, *A New and Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels... The whole being a general survey of Europe*, was designed by its publisher, John Coote, as a supplement to Astley's collection, which had not dealt with Europe. Coote had planned a work in four volumes to embrace the world, but was induced to limit his field by representations from the proprietors of Astley's collection (who apparently still had stock on their hands) and from subscribers who already possessed that collection. The materials of this very slight compilation are 'digested into one connected and entertaining narrative' in the first person, with only occasional indication of the sources and original authors. A large part of the book is devoted to Germany; Scandinavia and Eastern Europe are omitted.

A different but also restricted field was chosen by Samuel Derrick in *A Collection of Travels... more particularly, thro' Tartary, China, Turkey, Persia, and the East-Indies* (2 vols., 12°, 1762). Derrick, who (says Boswell) 'was my first tutor in the ways of London, and showed me the town in all its variety of

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departments, both literary and sportive', was a journeyman writer who succeeded Nash as master of ceremonies at Bath. Johnson said of him: 'His being a literary man... has made him King of Bath. Sir, he has nothing to say for himself but that he is a writer. Had he not been a writer, he must have been sweeping the crossings in the streets.' Derrick's collection, which is dedicated to Robert Clive, offers only condensed digests of material from Churchill and Harris, rewritten in the third person.

In 1767 the publisher John Knox, who had issued Barrow's work, put out a substantial but derivative collection in seven volumes entitled *A New Collection of Voyages, Discoveries, and Travels*, with maps engraved by T. Kitchin. This work, whose editor¹ is unnamed, appears to have some relation to Smollett's and owes much to Newbery's *World displayed*. A large part of the preface is copied verbatim from that of Smollett, and the close textual similarity of the texts to those in Smollett's and Newbery's collections is not entirely explicable by the use of common sources. The arrangement differs from Smollett's in being regional, and an attempt at differentiation between 'voyages' and 'travels' is made. Volumes i and ii are devoted to America; Volume iii to circumnavigations; Volumes iv and v to Europe; Volume vi, inadequately, to the Levant, Africa and Asia; and Volume vii to the geography, constitution and naval history of Great Britain. Trade and commerce are the themes of most of the editorial interpolations. An acrimonious criticism of Purchas, Churchill and Harris is made in the preface; the fact that Hakluyt escapes criticism, and indeed mention, suggests that he was not used by the editor. None the less, it is to previous collections that the editor has turned in making his digests of the older material. Like Newbery, he reprints or abstracts a number of recent narratives, some of

¹ Perhaps William Guthrie of Brechin. See Pinkerton, *Modern Geography*, 1802, vol. ii, p. 791.

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which had in fact already been used by Newbery's editor. Thus he includes reports of both the French geodetic expeditions of 1735-6 (to Lapland and to South America); abstracts of recent accounts of North America by Major Robert Rogers¹ and William Smith;² and John Bell's *Travels from St Petersburg in Russia, to divers parts of Asia* (1763). For Africa and Europe the compiler has drawn on the recent works used by Newbery, more freely condensed and combined.

The inclusion of such new material in popular collections indicates that their readers, no longer satisfied by the repeated re-hash of older texts, now demanded reports of contemporary interest. The acceleration of geographical enterprise after 1760 strengthened this demand, and in the later years of the century editors gleaned material not only from the earlier collections but more and more from the rich harvest of records produced by the great discoveries of the period, principally in the Pacific and in Africa. The accounts of Cook's voyages gave a stimulus to public interest in exploration comparable to that of Dampier's writings seventy years earlier; and the expeditions promoted by the African Association from its foundation in 1788, culminating in that of Mungo Park, attracted public attention to a hitherto neglected and little-known region. The results of the Australasian and African discoveries became current, often in a debased form, through the medium of popular travel literature. Editors were quick to reduce the original journals, logs and reports to a form which should 'satisfy curiosity without fatigue', and their texts were duly shortened, stripped of the technical phraseology of navigation and survey, abstracted in the third person and generally 'moralized'. The prevailing interest in the Pacific and in Africa gave a strong regional bias to the collections of the last quarter of the eighteenth and first quarter of the nineteenth centuries; Cook is the central figure of the Pacific collec-

¹ *A Concise Account of North America*, 1765.

² *An Account of Col. Bouquet's Expedition against the Ohio Indians*, 1766.

tions, Bruce and Park of the African collections. Between 1766 and 1817 the growth of opinion and knowledge regarding Australasia and the Pacific was displayed in a series of important collections, which demand special notice.

Pacific collections

The theme which ran through much of Campbell's collection—the necessity for developing British commerce in the South Seas—was given further publicity by John Callander who published between 1766 and 1768 his *Terra Australis Cognita, or, Voyages to the Terra Australis*.¹ Callander's more immediate inspiration, and the source of much of his material, however, was the *Histoire des navigations aux Terres Australes*,² compiled by Charles de Brosses. De Brosses had collected many accounts of voyages to the South Seas, mainly by way of the Straits of Magellan, and used them to support his plea for the establishment of a French colony in New Britain. By the simple expedient of slightly altering de Brosses's arguments to suit British interests, Callander provides a case for British action, and it is difficult to determine whether the sentiments he expresses are those of the original author or his own. Callander acknowledges his debt to the *Histoire*—without mentioning de Brosses by name—but not to the full extent which his extensive borrowings should have obliged him. His announced purpose was to assist seamen and to induce the authorities to

¹ *Terra Australis Cognita; or, Voyages to the Terra Australis or Southern Hemisphere, during the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Containing an Account of the Manners of the People, and the Productions of the Countries, hitherto found in the Southern Latitudes; the Advantages that may result from further Discoveries of this great Continent, and the Methods of establishing Colonies there, to the Advantage of Great Britain.* 3 vols. 8vo. Maps. Edinburgh, 1766-8.

² *Histoire des navigations aux Terres Australes, contenant ce que l'on sait des moeurs et des productions des contrées découvertes jusqu'à ce jour, etc.* 2 vols. 4to. Maps. Paris, 1756.

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establish settlements in unoccupied lands by translating 'such of the foreign journalists as had not yet appeared in English, and by collecting the observations of our own navigators who have visited these distant regions'. The more important voyages are given in considerable detail, the less important are severely condensed, and only the portions bearing directly on the southern ocean and its approaches are included. The arrangement follows that of the *Histoire*. Book i deals with general considerations of geography, natural history, and commerce, and is a fairly close translation of the French original: Books ii-iv contain the narratives arranged chronologically, and Book v, much condensed from the French, treats of the 'Advantages from the forming of colonies in the Terra Australis'.

Callander, or more properly de Brosses, writes of the discovery of an immense continent 'stretching from the Line quite to the Circle of the Antarctic Pole', and lying south of the Cape of Good Hope, the Moluccas, and Cape Horn. Its existence is deduced from the necessity of the northern land masses being balanced by similar lands in the south, and from the reports of evident signs of a continent, the principal being the numerous islands and the presence of ice—'the more ice we find at sea the more land we expect to discover'. Despite this gigantic conception, and it is perhaps noteworthy that no representation of it appears on the accompanying maps, de Brosses's practical proposals are more circumspect. This great mass is declared, probably from Dampier's observations, to be broken up by channels, and one sector alone 'forms particularly the object of this work'. This lies approximately between the Chagos archipelago on the west and the Solomon Islands on the east, as far south as the parallel of southern Tasmania.

The final conclusion is that a colony should be established in New Britain, mainly on the strength of Dampier's report. This could be founded by an expedition from Pondicherry—and equally well, as Callander hastens to add, from Madras. This

settlement would be favourably placed in regard to Japan, the Spice Islands, the continent of New Holland, China, and Manilla. (In fact, it was to fulfill the functions afterwards performed by Singapore.) Such a colony would promote solid and well-regulated commerce, leading to increased employment in the home country and large profits from freights. It would also provide an outlet for the criminal population when it had been effectively established.

It would be beyond the scope of this paper to analyse in detail the narratives in Callander's three volumes. All those which he notes as appearing in English for the first time are translations from de Brosses, generally abbreviated and often of little interest; perhaps the most important of these is Bouvet's *voyage* of 1738-9.

In treating the better-known navigators, particularly the British, Callander has in several instances used existing versions in English in preference to those given by de Brosses, and generally given them at greater length. He uses Hakluyt for Ulloa and Cavendish, Purchas for Hawkins, Villegagnon, and Quiros's two memorials, but his main source is Campbell's edition of Harris, from which he takes his versions of Magellan, Drake, Le Hermite, Tasman, Dampier and the eighteenth-century English navigators, three of whom, Funnell, Shelvocke and Clipperton, are not included in de Brosses. The final narrative is that of Commodore Byron's circumnavigation from the accounts which appeared before the official narrative in Hawkesworth's collection.

The structure of Callander's work was therefore borrowed from de Brosses, but much of the material came from existing English sources.

Two years after the publication of Callander's collection, Alexander Dalrymple issued at his own expense the work¹

¹ *An Historical Collection of the Several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean.* 2 vols. 4to. Maps. London, 1770-1.

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which established him as the leading protagonist of the great southern continent. To do justice to the manifold activities and interests of Dalrymple is beyond the scope of this paper, which must be limited to his achievements as an editor of records of discovery. His disappointment over the command of the *Endeavour* expedition is well known, and it was certainly not mitigated by the circumstance of the second volume of his *Historical Collection* appearing almost at the moment of Cook's return from the voyage which, if it had not entirely demolished his theory, had at least amputated New Zealand and a considerable area in addition from the premised continent.

Volume I is described on the title-page as 'Being chiefly a Literal Translation from the Spanish Writers', and Volume II as 'Containing the Dutch Voyages'. The preface outlines the contents of the work and the editorial methods employed. 'The Historical Collection is almost a literal translation, which was preferred to a more literal stile, lest any deviation from the expression of the original should introduce ambiguity, or render the authenticity suspected.'

Prefixed to the chronological series of voyages are three short papers: 'Account of the natural curiosities at Sooloo', dealing mainly with the pearl fishery, as being relevant to Quiros' memorials; 'An enquiry into the formation of islands', which sets out briefly Dalrymple's observations on the formation of coral islands; 'Data on which the chart of the South Sea was formed', to which reference is made below; and 'Of the Solomon Islands', a note on the historical cartography.

Dalrymple owed a good deal to the *Histoire des navigations*; he acknowledges the encouragement to proceed with his project which he had received from de Brosses, and reprints his table of chronological discoveries with the authorities, to which are added voyages and references omitted by des Brosses. Dalrymple had taken great pains to acquire the best available texts, printed and manuscript; the Spanish he appears to have trans-

lated himself, relying for the versions from the Dutch upon two anonymous assistants. His anxiety to make his work as authoritative as possible is shown by his inclusion of material from Figueroa's work, which he obtained from Spain while the first volume was in the press. He emphasizes that, in contrast to de Brosses, his collection contains full translations, not abridgements, and that it is limited to voyages within the area between South America and Papua.¹

Dalrymple's editorial procedure is best illustrated by an extract relating to Mendaña's voyage of 1595:

In the following relation of Mendaña's voyage, Quiros's letter to Morga, the Spanish fragment in Thevenot, as well as the abridgement of Figueroa by Coreal and Pingre, have been collated, and the circumstances reduced to one connected detail; those from the fragment are denoted by two inverted commas “, and Quiros's letter by a single inverted comma, ‘, and where the fragment differs from the letter, it is expressed in a note. The translation of both is almost literal.

The principal navigators included in the first volume are Magellan, mainly from Fr. Gaspar; Alvaro de Mendaña, from the authorities mentioned above; and Quiros mainly from Torquemada and from Quiros's memorials. Among the briefer excerpts he includes a fragment which exercised an altogether unfortunate influence upon his judgement, that is Arias's account of Juan Fernandez's reported landfall in 40° S. at about one month's sailing from the coast of Chile. 'On this coast JUAN FERNANDEZ saw the mouths of very large rivers, from whence, and from what the natives intimated, and because they were people so *white*, so well clad, and in every thing so different

¹ Dalrymple strongly repudiates the contemporary charge that Callander had made his work unnecessary, and attributes it to the 'little narrow ideas of the hackney trumpeter of a bookseller'. He states also that de Brosses knew little Spanish, so that his abridgements contained many errors.

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from those of CHILI and all PERU, he concluded it certainly the coast of the SOUTHERN CONTINENT, which appeared much better and richer than that of PERU.'

The second volume contains three Dutch voyages only: Le Maire and Schouten, 1616, from their own relations;¹ Tasman, 1642, translated for the first time from Valentyn² and collated with the versions already mentioned, and Roggewein, 1722, from an anonymous Dutch relation³ and from Behrens's narrative.⁴

The volume concludes with two typical Dalrymple tracts: 'Conduct of the Discoverers in the Tracks they made choice of', and 'Investigation of what may be further expected in the South Sea.'⁵ This is not the place to examine in detail the basis of Dalrymple's confident belief in the existence of an enormous southern continent. Briefly, to the thesis of des Brosses, he adds arguments based on the wind system of the southern hemisphere, the similarities between the cultures of Easter Island and Peru, and the alleged existence of a white people in the southern islands. From the reports of navigators he estimates the area of the continent to be discovered, and even its probable population, which he puts at 50 million inhabitants. Two short quotations must suffice here: 'Observe that the undiscovered part is above 5000 leagues in longitude, and in some parts 70, 80, or more degrees in latitude; in short, that it is the

¹ Published at Amsterdam in 1622 and 1618 respectively.

² F. Valentyn, *Omstandig verhaal van de geschiedenis en zaaken*, vol. iii. Amsterdam, 1726. Dalrymple's version was the third to be published in English during the century.

³ *Twee jahrige reyze rondom de Wereld*. Dordrecht, 1728.

⁴ See above, p. 95.

⁵ These had already been printed by Dalrymple in *An Account of the Discoveries made in the South Pacific Ocean previous to 1764*, printed in 1767, but not published until 1769. This book, a copy of which Cook took with him, was important, as it contained a chart showing Torres's track between Australia and New Guinea. See Maurice Holmes, *An Introduction to the Bibliography of Capt. James Cook*, 1936, p. 43.

fourth part of the globe, which is to be discovered.'¹ And again: 'The Southern Continent having been seen on the West-side by Tasman in 1642 and the east by Juan Fernandez about half a century before, and by others after him, in different latitudes from 64° to 40° S., it is impossible for any one at this time to *discover* it. But the countries intermediate, *equal in extent to all the civilised part of Asia from Turkey to China inclusive*, still remain unexplored.'

Dalrymple provides three charts; one of the world in three sections, the area from 30° N. to 30° S. on Mercator's projection, to show the approximate equality of the land areas immediately to the north and south of the equator, and two polar azimuthal charts extending to 30° N. and 30° S., to show the contrast between the remainder of the northern and southern hemispheres; a draught purporting to show that the Solomon Islands of the early navigators were identical with the New Britain of Dampier; and Tasman's chart of the western coast of New Zealand and part of the Fiji Islands.

Cook's first two voyages demonstrated that however plausible the reasons for believing in a great southern continent might appear, the final deduction was almost as far from the mark as it could well be; in fact he showed, in a manner most unpalatable to Dalrymple, the essential truth of the latter's dictum '*Errors may lead to truth, but when all mens notions are ground in one mill, they serve no purpose of investigation or discovery*'.

Two years after the publication of Dalrymple's work appeared the official narrative of the first of the voyages that removed the hypothetical southern continent from the map. Hawkesworth's version of Cook's journal on the *Endeavour* was printed together with those of Byron, Wallis and Cartaret, so that the whole may be regarded as a 'collection', though,

¹ Inserted at the last moment from Figueroa's account of Quiros's voyage.

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containing material published for the first time, it was in complete contrast to all those described above.¹ The essential fact about it was that all the journals were edited and rewritten by Hawkesworth: 'it was determined that the narrative should be written in the first person, and that I might notwithstanding intersperse such sentiments and observations as my subject should suggest.' Owing to the greater part of the Cook narrative having been printed before the other narratives were written, 'sentiments and observations' inserted by the editor occur most frequently in it; had the narratives been composed in chronological order, many of these would have been inserted in the accounts of Byron, Wallis or Carteret. The manuscript, however, was left in the hands of Cook, Banks and Solander 'for a considerable time' so that presumably none of them objected strongly to the sentiments expressed therein.

Hawkesworth, who received £6000 from the Admiralty for his editorial services, was a well-known *litterateur* and editor, but was without scientific qualifications for his task. The work was an immediate success, though the editor was severely criticized, not only for technical errors, but on moral grounds. These attacks are said to have undermined his health; certainly he died in the same year. The expedient of bringing in an outside editor was fortunately not repeated for the narratives of Cook's second and third voyages. The subsequent bibliography of Cook is outside the scope of this paper, but reference may be made to the *Bibliography* published by the Public Library of New South Wales and the *Introduction* by Maurice Holmes.

Versions of Cook's voyages appeared in most subsequent collections, the first to contain all three being G. W. Anderson's

¹ *An Account of the Voyages undertaken by the order of His present Majesty for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, and successively performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret, and Captain Cook.... Drawn up from the Journals which were kept by the several commanders and from the papers of Joseph Banks, Esq.; by John Hawkesworth, LL.D. 3 vols. 4to. Plates and charts. London, 1773.*

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A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages round the World (London, 1784).¹ Others are mentioned below.

The achievements of Cook naturally intensified the public interest in the history of exploration in the Pacific Ocean. The final compilation on this subject, so far as the period under review is concerned, was Captain James Burney's *Chronological History*.² This may be regarded as the culmination of the series of 'Collections' characteristic of the eighteenth century, being distinguished from most of them by the careful editorial methods employed. At the same time it foreshadows the procedure which the rapidly accumulating source material was to impose in the future.

'To form a complete History of Voyages', Burney writes, 'is an undertaking that would require, for a great number of years, the labour and united efforts of many able assistants.' Burney, in fact, was one of a small group which might be regarded as an embryo Hakluyt Society. He was encouraged in his heavy task by Sir Joseph Banks, who placed his library at Burney's disposal and furnished some of the material published in the *Chronological History*; the work had the approval of Major Rennell; Dalrymple helped with advice and material—indeed the work is an extension and amplification of his *Historical Collection*—and John Arrowsmith provided charts and the latest geographical information. Burney's work is too well known to students of the history of discovery to require more than a brief reference to its main features. Burney describes it as a 'Contribution towards the advancement of a plan for a Digest of Maritime Geographical Discovery' organized on an oceanic basis. Dealing with the Pacific as a whole, it contains a wider

¹ Cook's journals were rewritten for this collection. The contemporary popularity of voyages is shown by the fact that it originally appeared in eighty sixpenny parts. The collection has otherwise few claims for serious consideration.

² *A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean.* 5 vols. 4to. London, 1803-17.

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selection of material than the earlier collections, particularly in regard to the northern Japanese islands and the coast of California. In some respects the net has perhaps been too widely cast, for disproportionate attention is given, for example, to an account of the Dutch occupation of Formosa and to a detailed history of the buccaneers. Probably the most important pieces included are Dalrymple's translation of Torres's relation¹ in which he records his voyage through the Strait which now bears his name, and the translation of the greater part of Tasman's original journal of his 1642 voyage. This manuscript had formerly been in the Harleian Collection, and was recovered by Sir Joseph Banks, who in 1776 caused it to be translated by the Rev. Charles Godfrey Woide. Burney provides engravings of all the charts and several of the drawings which accompanied the manuscript.² He also gives a detailed account of the expedition of the Dutch vessels *Kastrikom* and *Breskens* in the waters north of Yezo. Perhaps the most notable omission is any account of the explorations of the Russians in the North Pacific.

In most instances, Burney gives composite accounts, based upon a collation of the available records, with frequent extracts from the originals, omitting inessential details. He is careful to state the sources of his facts and to explain how he has composed his text. As he contributes critical discussions of the discoveries made on each voyage, provides historical sketches to link up the narratives, and intercalates short essays on relevant topics, his work approaches more nearly a reasoned history of discovery than a conventional collection of voyages. Among these subsidiary pieces is a useful 'Memoir, Explanatory of a Chart of the Coast of China and the Sea Eastward...', printed

¹ 'Relation of Luis Vaez de Torres, Manila, July 12, 1607. A translation nearly literal, by Alexander Dalrymple, Esq., from a Spanish Manuscript Copy in his possession.' Dalrymple had shown Torres's track on a chart in the *Historical Collection*, but had published no account of it.

² This MS. is now in the British Museum, Add. MSS. 8946-7.

as an appendix to the third volume, which contains the chart. Elsewhere he advances the suggestion that the coastline of 'Java la Grande' on the manuscript chart of John Rotz indicates early knowledge of Australia, and makes reference to Banks's efforts to obtain information in Amsterdam about the 'Stadt-house Map'.¹

The volumes contain a large number of charts which are valuable for the elucidation of the text. It is an interesting commentary on the progress of hydrographical knowledge that Burney considered that some of the seventeenth-century charts were still indispensable, for example, J. van Walbeck's chart of the vicinity of Cape Horn made on Le Maire's voyage, and Narborough's chart of the Strait of Magellan.

The *Chronological History* superseded all earlier work in English on the particular region dealt with, and remained unchallenged for many years.

Minor regional collections

Characteristic of the minor 'regional' collections of the later eighteenth century is that published without editor's name by Francis Newbery, who had inherited his father's business, under the title *An Historical Account of all the Voyages round the World, performed by English Navigators; including those lately undertaken by order of his Present Majesty* (4 vols., 8°, 1773-4). Volumes I and II, published in 1774 (after the return of the *Adventure*, but before that of the *Resolution*, from Cook's second expedition) were compiled by David Henry,² printer, miscellaneous writer and one of the editors of the *Gentleman's Magazine*; Volumes III and IV, published in 1773, by an unknown editor. In 1775 Henry added a fifth volume containing an abstract of Cook's second voyage, in 1784 a sixth dealing

¹ See above, p. 97, n. 2.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1792, vol. LXII, p. 578.

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with Cook's last voyage. The introduction gives a history of Pacific exploration and of the search for the southern continent down to Roggewein, after whose voyage 'the existence of a southern continent still remained as doubtful as ever; and so it continues at this period, June 22, 1774.... Since the above was written the *Adventure* is arrived' with the report that no land had been found between the parallels of 55° and 67° S. The first two volumes give abstracts of the circumnavigations from Drake to Anson; the third, those of Byron, Wallis and Carteret digested from Hawkesworth; and the journal kept on Cook's first voyage by Sydney Parkinson, one of Banks's 'draftsmen', originally published in 1773, is reprinted in Volumes III and IV. Most of the accounts are abridged and adapted, 'unencumbered with the jargon of sea-phrases', in order to provide (as the editor says) 'rational entertainment... for the generality of readers'.

Henry's work is representative of a long series of similar compilations constructed round Cook's voyages. From 1800, collections dealing with Africa used Bruce's and Park's travels as a nucleus in much the same way. The 'regional' collections had to some extent superseded the 'general' or 'universal' collection, whose framework had been distorted and burst by the new discoveries; and between about 1770 and 1790 there is a gap in the sequence of substantial collections of more general scope. William Henry Portlock, in the preface to his collection of 1794, claimed that 'near twenty years have elapsed since any collection of voyages and travels has been published'; and this statement overlooks only so meretricious a work as the *New and Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels* (2 vols., 1785?) of J. H. Moore, 'Master of the Academy at Brentford', derived for the most part from Astley.

The regional trend of travel literature is illustrated by the fact that Portlock's own work, *A New Complete and Universal Collection of... Voyages and Travels to all the various parts of the*

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world, by no means justifies its title. Europe, the American mainland, Asia and Africa are scantily treated; and more than half the volume is filled by Pacific voyages, chiefly of recent date. These include abridgements of the usual circumnavigations; for the South Pacific, Governor Arthur Phillip's voyage to Botany Bay of 1786, Bligh's voyage in the *Bounty* of 1787 and that of Captain Edwards in the *Pandora* in pursuit of the *Bounty*'s mutineers, 1790-2; and for the North Pacific, the expeditions sent to the north-west coast of America by the merchants of London in 1785-8, under Captains Portlock and Dixon, and by those of Bengal in 1785-6, under Meares and Tipping. These works, which had all previously appeared in print, formed the stock-in-trade of similar collections such as Cavendish Pelham's *The World: or, the Present State of the Universe* (1808).

The last eighteenth-century collection to be noticed, that of William Fordyce Mavor, illustrates the difficulties encountered by editors of such popular compilations in achieving a double balance—chronologically, between the older material of the large collections and the newer reports available since 1750; regionally, between the lands and seas known at the beginning of the century and the great new areas revealed by recent discoveries. Mavor emphasizes the inadequacy of the earlier collections (from Hakluyt to Astley), which he terms 'respectable performances', and offers this as the pretext for his *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, published by Richard Phillips in twenty-five duodecimo volumes, 1796-1801 (later editions in 1810 and 1813-15). A copious compiler of educational works, he here provided for his readers' entertainment 'the substance of the most celebrated and interesting voyages and travels... divested... of technical phrases and unimportant minutiae', but he did not succeed in resolving the dualism of his material. Like Newbery and Knox, he added to the earlier accounts, borrowed from Churchill and Harris, digests of many newer

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narratives, some taken from separate editions, others apparently from Newbery or Portlock. These form the bulk of the collection. Hawkesworth and the official reports of Cook's last two voyages, which Mavor reprints *verbatim*, fill eight of his twenty-five volumes; this leaves him space only for perfunctory abstracts of his other materials, which are divided as voyages and travels. The more recent texts have suffered least. The plan of Mavor's work, as a general collection, is thrown out of balance by the regional emphasis.

With few exceptions, the more miscellaneous collections of the period—the 'Polite Travellers', the 'Modern Travellers', the 'Flowers of Modern Travel'—are negligible; they are digests of digests, shadows of shadows, light reading copied for the most part from the narratives of 'urbane travellers' and tourists. In this class the most ambitious publication was that issued by the prosperous bookseller Sir Richard Phillips, *A Collection of Modern and Contemporary Voyages and Travels: containing I. Translations from foreign languages, of voyages and travels never before translated. II. Original voyages and travels never before published. III. Analyses of new voyages and travels published in England* (11 vols., 8°, 1805-10; partial reissues in 1810 and 1819-23). Issued in periodical parts and without systematic arrangement, this collection is not unlike the miscellaneous series of modern publishers. The works printed or digested were all recent, the majority being translations. Not a few were new to English readers; these include Lewis and Clark's first report on their Missouri journey of 1804-5 and such late French narratives as Bory de St Vincent's *Voyage dans les îles d'Afrique* (1804) and François Péron's account of the French Pacific expedition under Baudin in 1801-4.

Concurrently with such compilations, whose intention was entertainment, there appeared numerous collections of didactic character. The instructional purpose in fact became increasingly marked during this period. Thus Thomas Salmon's *Universal*

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Traveller (1752-3) and Jonathan Carver's *New Universal Traveller* (1779) are really compendiums of geography; in *A...System of Universal Geography* (1787), by Thomas Banks, E. W. Blake and Alexander Cook, passages from well-known voyages and travels, particularly those of Cook, are uncritically strung together to form a regional geography of the world; and later, John Pinkerton's notable collection was designed as a kind of source book for his *Modern Geography*.

The nineteenth century

The scientific historiography and geography of the nineteenth century could scarcely be content with the treatment which their sources had received from eighteenth-century editors. Their demand for pure, complete and representative texts was unsatisfied by the manipulated and curtailed versions offered by these editors in their often arbitrary selections. It is not surprising that the small group of substantial travel collections produced in the first quarter of the nineteenth century includes Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* in its first reprint since 1600. No collection in the intervening 200 years had approached Hakluyt's in careful selection of materials and in loyalty to the original texts. For its period, none could so well serve the needs of the new schools of history and historical geography. An edition of 325 copies was printed by George Woodfall from the *Principall Navigations* of 1598-1600 and published in five folio volumes in 1809-12. To it was added in 1812 *A Selection of... Voyages...chiefly published by Hakluyt, or at his suggestion, but not included in his celebrated compilation*.

As Professor Taylor has suggested, Hakluyt's decision to produce a collection of documents rather than a history or cosmography was perhaps influenced by his association with lawyers. The editors of the two substantial collections published in this period doubtless owed no less to their background. Robert

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Kerr (1755-1813) was a scientific writer who had translated Linnaeus and Lavoisier: John Pinkerton (1758-1826) an antiquary and historian with a strong taste for research and a reputation for diligent if combative scholarship. Pinkerton was described by Scott as 'a man of considerable learning, and some severity as well as acuteness of disposition'; and his earlier works included a successful compendium entitled *Modern Geography digested on a new plan* (1802). Both Pinkerton and Kerr were Scotsmen, and Kerr asserts that his is 'the first work of the kind attempted in Scotland'. Both emphasize the methodical plan of their compilations, Kerr boasting his to be the only general collection 'upon any arrangement that merits the appellation of a *systematic plan*'. Finally, both claim to reproduce their texts from the best sources and to exercise mutilation or abridgement 'very seldom... and never without acknowledgement'. Kerr tells us that 'it has been the anxious desire of the Editor that the *voyages* and *travellers* should tell their own story' and that 'the most ancient and most authentic accessible sources have been anxiously sought after and employed'; and Pinkerton claims that his collection 'may be used with the same confidence as the original works themselves'. Each editor gives careful bibliographical indications of the provenance and history of his texts and of the extent to which he has shortened, augmented or digested them.

Pinkerton

Of the two works, Pinkerton's is the more considerable, although it owed its inception to his perennial money difficulties.¹ *A General Collection of the best and most interesting Voyages and Travels in all parts of the World... digested on a new plan*, in seventeen large quarto volumes, was published in 1808-

¹ Pinkerton's contract with the booksellers is printed in his *Literary Correspondence*, 1830, vol. II, pp. 356-8.

14 by Longmans and Cadell & Davies. In a pungently phrased preface its editor proclaims it to be 'the most voluminous of its kind ever published, except the *Histoire Générale des Voyages* [of Prévost]', and his pretension is not unfounded, for the work contains close on a million words. He vigorously defends the form of his collection, citing 'the noble example of Hakluyt' and the failure in judgement which induced Astley's editor to digest his materials into a historical account in the third person. Green (whom Pinkerton assumes to be Astley's editor) is further criticized for his editorial apparatus, his 'solemn discussions of mere trifles, with notes replete with learned contradictions, and minute and microscopic balancing of one straw against another'. Such 'easy parade of learned notes' Pinkerton renounces as inappropriate to a work intended primarily for the general reader and as likely to repeat material already available in his *Modern Geography*; a stronger motive was perhaps the necessity for maintaining the supply of copy to the printer.

The novelty of plan claimed in the title consists only in treating Europe first and in giving priority to the northern parts of Europe as the scene of the earliest English trading ventures to Russia; Pinkerton in fact sets out from the same point as Hakluyt. His plan, which follows that of his *Modern Geography*, is simple and regional. Volume I is devoted to northern Europe and the Arctic; Volumes II-VI to the rest of Europe; VII-X to Asia; XI to the 'Asiatic Islands', i.e. the East Indies and Pacific; XII and XIII to North America; XIV to South America; XV and XVI to Africa. The last volume contains a 'Retrospect of the origin and progress of discovery'; a 'Critical catalogue of books of voyages and travels',¹ which is copious, highly systematic, and rich in inaccuracies; and a generous index. The regional arrangement forces the editor to divide some of his texts; thus Pococke's *Description of the East*, which

¹ Apparently not by Pinkerton, but by Henry Weber. See Pinkerton's *Literary Correspondence*, vol. II, p. 407.

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is reprinted *in toto*, is found partly under Egypt, partly among the Levantine travels. The plan is nevertheless logical and well balanced, although Europe is perhaps over-lavishly treated. With this qualification, it may be said that a strict sense of proportion governs Pinkerton's work; he is hypnotized neither by antiquity nor by novelty, neither by the distant nor the near at hand. He is austere in observing the limitations set by his purpose: 'where no traveller has appeared to give a good general account of a country, that country is...omitted; this work being a collection of voyages and travels, and not a system of geography, or a compilation from detached authors.'

Pinkerton's choice of materials is judicious and gives a fair picture of the state of knowledge in his day, although there are some surprising omissions. His sources, which are without exception printed editions, include many of the earlier collections in English, both general and regional, and a great variety of separately published records. For voyages to the Arctic and northern coasts of Europe, Hakluyt and the Dutch reports¹ are supplemented by eighteenth-century narratives. Pinkerton admits no voyages for the North-East Passage later than those of Barentsz, nor any account of the Russian discoveries in North and East Asia, although these were now well known and are in fact mentioned in Pinkerton's Retrospect. Recent travellers provide the material for the European section. For East Asia, the medieval texts are taken from Ramusio and Harris; the accounts of China and Tibet mainly from Astley's collection and Kircher's *China illustrata*; and those of Japan from Kaempfer's history of Japan. The section on the 'Asiatic islands' draws mainly on French and Dutch accounts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and gives abstracts of Cook's voyages. The North American material is contributed largely by Hakluyt and Harris. Apart from Frobisher's voyages, the North-West

¹ In the French translation, *Recueil des voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement... de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, 1702.

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Passage, in whose existence Pinkerton did not believe, is unnoticed; and the Canadian journeys of Hearne, Mackenzie and other recent pioneers are omitted. The paucity of material on South America, of which Pinkerton complains in his *Modern Geography*, is evident, and no account later than 1750 is printed. The results of Humboldt's travels were not yet current in England. For North Africa the materials are copious and varied; they include the important journeys of G. W. Browne, who was a regular correspondent of Pinkerton. For Central and South Africa, on the other hand, the materials are scantier and more miscellaneous, although Mungo Park's journal of his discovery of the Niger in 1795-6 is given.

Although Pinkerton's selection is critical and his distribution of the materials, both regionally and chronologically, not inequitable, the collection does not achieve the unity and completeness to which it aspired. It came too late to be more than a miscellany of sources, assembled indeed with great industry and skill but nevertheless a miscellany and not a true synthesis. Its wide scope and scrupulous loyalty to the texts, however, endow Pinkerton's work (as Mr J. N. L. Baker has written) with 'great and permanent value to students of the history of geography'.

Kerr

Kerr's work, *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, arranged in systematic order* (18 vols., 8°, Edinburgh, 1811-24), is slighter than Pinkerton's. Its publication, interrupted by the death of its editor, was continued and completed by William Stevenson, keeper of records in the Treasury; Volumes I-XVI were issued in 1811-15, the last two volumes only in 1824. Its plan is somewhat obscured by over-elaborate classification. The materials were to be divided into five sections: Part I, mediaeval voyages and travels; Part II, general voyages

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and travels from Prince Henry the Navigator to George III; Part III, particular voyages and travels in regional order; Part IV, general voyages and travels during the reign of George III; and Part V, an historical sketch. This scheme was in fact not closely followed. The mediaeval narratives are printed in Volumes I and II; Parts II and III are combined (in Volumes II–XI), their regional sequence is lost, Europe and Africa are omitted; and the final part (in Volumes XII–XVII) consists only of circumnavigations. Volume XVIII contains a long historical sketch by Stevenson, followed by a bibliography.

Kerr drew more freely than Pinkerton from secondary sources such as the earlier collections. The notable omissions in his collection—Europe, Africa, the Arctic, Dutch discoveries in general—impair its completeness, and his search for reliable sources was scarcely as exhaustive as he suggests. In spite of these shortcomings, his not unskilful selection of materials provides a coherent if imperfect picture of the progress of discovery. His work was conscientious but, even more evidently than Pinkerton, he failed to solve the problem confronting the editor of a general collection.

Epilogue

At this date indeed the problem no longer admitted of solution on traditional lines. Pinkerton's gallant failure indicates that the 'universal' collection had had its day. The history of geographical discovery could no longer be adequately illustrated by a single collection of tolerable size, even if an editor with the necessary qualifications were found. The attempt, characteristic of the eighteenth century, to survey a vast field of knowledge between the covers of a single encyclopaedic work, was renounced as impracticable by the nineteenth century. The expansion of knowledge habitually leads to its fragmentation and distribution into categories. From the beginning of the

nineteenth century, we see emerging the modern pattern of research and publication. Common interests brought together scholars, scientists and others in associations for the promotion of studies in special fields of knowledge, and the results were promulgated in the journals or serial publications issued by such societies. The corpus of specialized knowledge in individual sciences, thus created, superseded the old encyclopaedic surveys promoted by publishers.

From the loins of older foundations—the Royal Society, the Académie des Sciences—sprang the new societies, each for the cultivation of its chosen branch of science. To these the Royal Society now tended to abandon the less exact 'field' sciences. The Linnaean Society was established in 1788, the Geological Society in 1807, the Zoological Society in 1828. From 1788 the interests of geography were chiefly represented by the Association for the Exploration of Interior Africa, whose founders—Sir Joseph Banks, Major Rennell 'the first English geographer', and others—contemplated the extension of its activities from Africa to other imperfectly explored continents. The *Proceedings* of the Association, published with Rennell's maps between 1790 and 1810, served to draw attention to blank spaces in the world map; but after 1810 the Association became moribund. It was 'remarkable in its constitution, for it admitted ladies of distinction as well as noblemen and gentlemen to its membership, utilizing their subscriptions for the payment of the expenses of exploration'.¹ A similar catholicity has characterized the membership of many learned societies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and the African Association heralded the present phase in the promotion and promulgation of geographical discoveries.

We have seen that the circles interested in such discoveries, at first confined to the scientists and scholars of the Royal Society and the leisured readers of the early eighteenth-century

¹ H. R. Mill, *The Record of the Royal Geographical Society 1830-1930*, p. 6.

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collections, expanded to embrace the navigators and merchants whose practical interests were served by the later collections. The profuse literature of the second half of the century reached a still larger public at a lower cultural level; and the interruption of continental travel during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods created a market for large collections including numerous accounts of Europe. The eighteenth-century type of collection was finally condemned by the increase of documentary evidence and the development of more rigorous standards of scholarship.

After the Napoleonic wars geographical activity and public interest in geography once more mounted rapidly, and rising impatience was felt by geographers and travellers at the want of an organization in which they might be associated. Finally, after one or two false starts, the Royal Geographical Society was born in 1830, absorbing what remained of the African Association.¹ Here is the proper climax of this chapter, which has surveyed earlier attempts to realize what Dr Mill has called 'the central idea of all geographical societies—the collection and publication of authentic information regarding all parts of the Earth'.² Let us add that it was a group of Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society who, at an ebb in that Society's fortunes, founded the Hakluyt Society to share the burden of this task.

¹ See Mill, *op. cit.*, chaps. I and II.

² Mill, *op. cit.*, chap. II.

IV

THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

A RETROSPECT 1846-1946

BY SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E.

PRESIDENTS

SIR RODERICK MURCHISON, Bart., K.C.B., 1847-71.
THE RIGHT HON. SIR DAVID DUNDAS, P.C., 1871-77.
COLONEL SIR HENRY YULE, K.C.S.I., C.B., 1877-89.
SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B., 1889-1909.
SIR ALBERT GRAY, K.C.B., 1909-28.
SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E., 1928-45.
EDWARD LYNAM, D.Litt., 1945-.

SECRETARIES

WILLIAM DESBOROUGH COOLEY, 1847-49.
RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, 1849-58.
CLEMENTS MARKHAM, C.B., 1858-87.
E. DELMAR MORGAN, 1887-93.
WILLIAM FOSTER, 1893-1902.
B. H. SOULSBY, 1902-09.
J. A. J. DE VILLIERS, 1909-23.
T. A. JOYCE, O.B.E., 1923-26.
F. P. SPRENT, 1926-31.
EDWARD LYNAM, D.Litt., 1931-45.
G. R. CRONE, 1945-46.
R. A. SKELTON, 1946-.

TREASURERS

EDWARD HEWOOD, M.A., 1908-46.
J. N. L. BAKER, M.A., B.Litt., 1946-.

THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

A RETROSPECT: 1846-1946

THE credit of having conceived and carried through the formation of a society for the publication of early voyages and travels belongs to its first Secretary, William Desborough Cooley, though the fact has hitherto been so completely forgotten that not a hint of it is given in the otherwise excellent notice of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Yet it is on record in the minutes of the Society that when, at the annual meeting in 1849, Cooley retired on grounds of ill-health, he was thanked, not only for his able services as Secretary, but also 'for having planned and originated the Hakluyt Society'.

In the memoir already mentioned Cooley is classified as a 'geographer', and the description is just. At a time when geography was regarded as hardly a matter for serious study, he devoted himself to it with an enthusiasm that ignored all material considerations. Isolation and poverty he cheerfully endured in order that he might pursue without interruption his favourite study. He first attracted notice by his *History of Maritime and Inland Discovery* (3 vols., 1830-1), published as a contribution to Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopaedia*; and his reputation was increased by his exposure in 1832 of M. Douville's fictitious *Voyage au Congo*. He joined the Royal Geographical Society upon its foundation in 1830, and a few years later became a Vice-President; only to lose that post as the result of some charges brought by him against the Secretary, which were pronounced to be baseless. Cooley was indeed a stormy petrel, and debates in which he took part, especially if they related to his special subject, the geography of Africa, often proved lively in the extreme. He made many contributions on African topics both to the Society's journal and to the *Athenaeum*, and though some

of his theories were fantastic, his wide knowledge of the subject was generally acknowledged. In 1859 the Royal Geographical Society procured for him a Civil List pension of £100 a year, and five years later it made him a free honorary member. His last publication (1876) was a manual of physical geography, which is described as 'a thoroughly original work'. He died on 1 March 1883.

To return to the Hakluyt Society. Cooley's scheme attracted substantial support, and on 15 December 1846 a meeting was held at the London Library (St James's Square), at which it was carried into effect. Of the proceedings an account is given in the first prospectus circulated by the Society, a copy of which has been discovered by Mr Skelton in the library of the British Museum (741.k.1 (14)). Sir Roderick Murchison was in the Chair, and on the motion of Dr Andrew Smith, seconded by Sir Charles Malcolm, the following resolutions were adopted:

That a Society, to be called the Hakluyt Society, be formed for the purpose of printing, for distribution among the members, the most rare and valuable voyages, travels, and geographical records, from an early period of exploratory enterprise to the circumnavigation of Dampier.

That the annual subscription be one guinea, payable on the 1st January, and that each subscriber be entitled to receive, without further charge, a copy of every work produced by the Society within the year subscribed for.

That, as soon as the Society shall be in a condition to commence operations, a general meeting of the subscribers be called for the purpose of electing a Council, and that the management of its affairs be entrusted to the following Provisional Council, with power to add to their numbers: Dr Beke, Maj. Gen. Sir J. F. Briggs, K.H., Capt. F. Bullock, R.N., Bolton Corney, Esq., M.R.S.L., Charles Darwin, Esq., F.R.S., Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S., John Forster, Esq., J. E. Gray, Esq., F.R.S., W. R. Hamilton, Esq., F.R.S., T. Hodgkin, Esq., M.D., W. A. Mackinnon, Esq., M.P., Sir James M'Grigor,

The Hakluyt Society

Bart., M.D., F.R.S., Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Malcolm, The Rev. H. H. Milman, M.A., R. Monckton Milnes, Esq., M.P., Sir R. I. Murchison, F.R.S., Corr. Inst. Fr., Andrew Smith, Esq., M.D., Sir G. Staunton, Bart., M.P., F.R.S.

Mr Cooley was appointed Secretary, and Messrs Bouverie & Co., were named as the Society's bankers.

During the first two months of 1847 a set of laws and the aforesaid prospectus were drawn up; and these were approved at the first general meeting, held on 4 March. In the Society's early days a life membership was offered at ten guineas, but this was withdrawn before many members had taken advantage of it. Among other provisions, the Council was to meet monthly, except during the summer—a rule that after some years' observance fell into abeyance. It was laid down that the number of copies printed was not to exceed the estimated number of members; but this was almost immediately disregarded.

At the same meeting Sir Roderick Murchison was elected President—a very natural choice, for he was looked upon as one of the leaders of literary and scientific London. Malcolm and Milman were chosen as Vice-Presidents; while most of the founder members already named, including Darwin,¹ were appointed to the Council. The most notable election to that body was, however, that of Richard Henry Major, Keeper of Maps in the British Museum, who was soon to play so important a part in the Society's development. Among the founders Dr Charles Tilstone Beke was one of the most remarkable personalities. In turn business man, lawyer and orientalist, in 1840-3 he carried out some valuable explorations in Abyssinia and along the course of the Blue Nile, covering some 70,000 square miles in his journeys, in 1853 he edited Gerrit de Veer's *North-East Voyages* for our Society, and then returned to Africa

¹ Darwin never attended a Council meeting, doubtless owing to ill-health and consequent absence from London.

for a long stay. Of other members (apart from those mentioned elsewhere) who have carried on the tradition of the Elizabethans in that they were both courageous explorers and admirable writers on exploration, the most notable have been Sir Robert Schomburgk, a pioneer explorer of British Guiana and the neighbouring regions, Admiral Collinson, James Theodore Bent, Sir Martin Conway, Sir Everard im Thurn and Count Teleki, who discovered Lakes Rudolf and Stefanie and whose books on cartographical history are still authoritative. All of these except the last have edited publications for our Society.

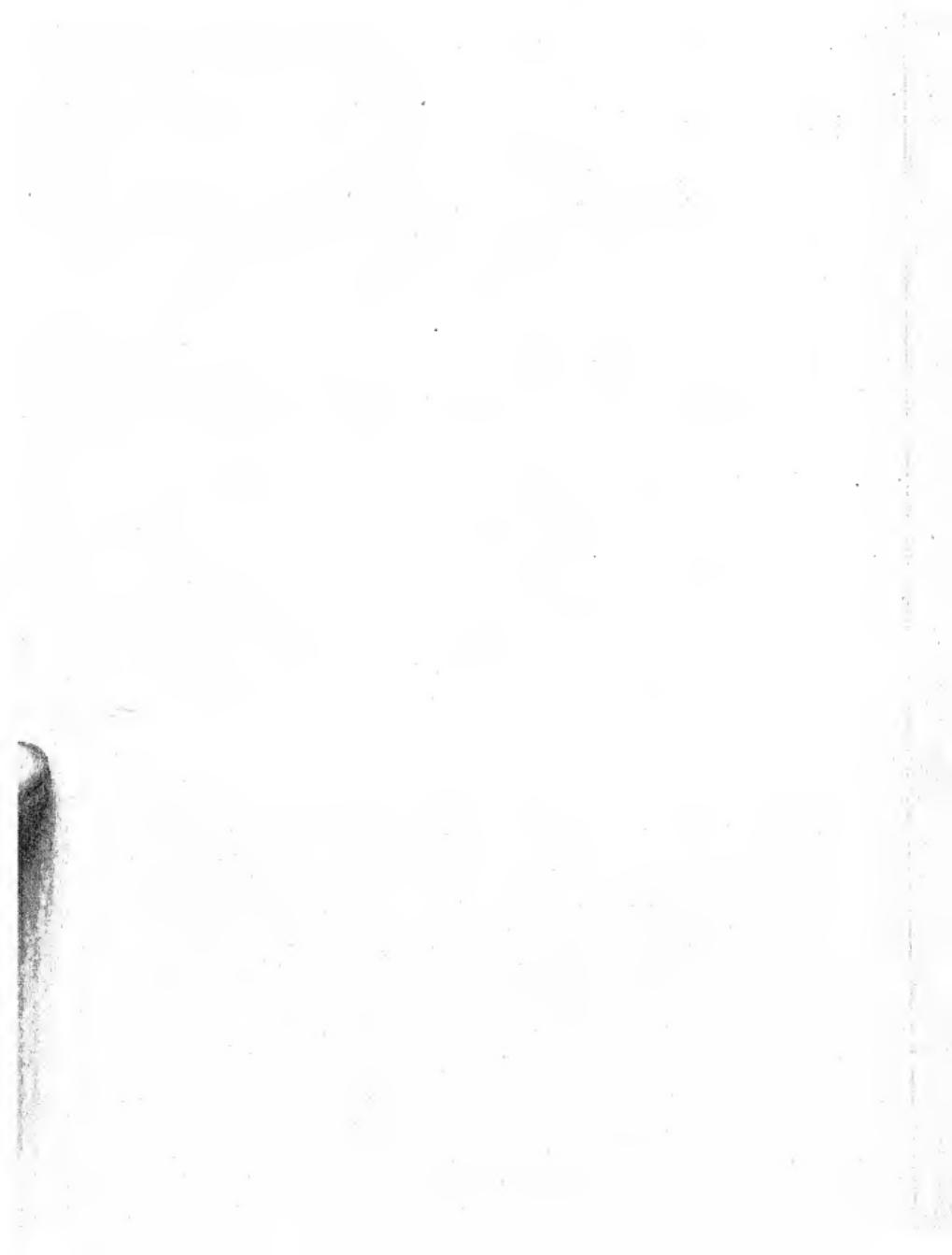
The Council got quickly to work. The size of page and the type to be used were carefully chosen, and a little later a binding was selected. The representation of Magellan's ship, *Victoria*, which has ever since figured on the covers of the Society's volumes, was the result of a comparison made between an illustration in Hulsius and that given by Amoretti in his edition of Pigafetta's narrative. It was decided—very appropriately—that the first volume to be prepared should be Richard Hakluyt's earliest publication (1582), viz. the *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America*; while for the second a volume offered by Mr Bolton Corney on Sir Henry Middleton's voyage to the Moluccas in 1604 was chosen. It was found, however, that a bookseller was already preparing a facsimile edition of the *Divers Voyages*, and the Council thereupon gave way.¹ Mr Corney's volume, though its printing was begun, made very slow progress, owing to his ill-health (it did not actually appear until 1856); and the two volumes eventually issued for 1847 were *Sir Richard Hawkins' Observations in his Voyage in 1593*, edited by Captain Drinkwater Bethune, and *Select Letters of Columbus*, translated by Major. These were followed in 1848 by Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana*, edited by Sir Robert Schom-

¹ Later, when the bookseller abandoned his project, the Society again took up the matter, and the volume appeared in 1850, under the editorship of Mr John Winter Jones of the British Museum.

PLATE V



Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, Bart., K.C.B.



The Hakluyt Society

burgk, and Maynard's account of Drake's last voyage, edited by Cooley.

It was found necessary to employ an agent (paid by commission) for the delivery of the various issues, the warehousing of back volumes, and the collection of subscriptions. To this post Mr T. Rodd, of 9 Great Newport Street, was appointed; but he died soon after, and in 1849 the work was transferred to Mr Richards, of 100 St Martin's Lane, by whom the Society's volumes were printed. He at once offered a room on his premises for the Society's meetings, and this was accepted. Previously accommodation for this purpose had been rented from the London Library, at a cost of £10 per annum. When, towards the close of 1850, Richards removed to 37 Great Queen Street, the Hakluyt Society moved with him.

The Society's fourth volume (1849) was the first to contain a list of members—220 in all. Charles Dickens had by this time been enrolled (probably through his friend, John Forster), and he remained a subscriber for many years. American readers may be interested to learn that the Library of Congress, the Boston Athenaeum, and Mr John Carter Brown, of Providence, Rhode Island, all appear in the list. The report for 1850 states that the membership had increased to 276, and in the following year the total had risen to 319. It remained at about that figure for several years. In an endeavour to increase the membership local honorary agents were appointed, and of these in 1852 there were five—at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Oxford, Plymouth and St Heliers respectively.

In May 1849, as already mentioned, Cooley resigned the secretaryship, though he still maintained his connection with the Society as a member of the Council. Later, a second volume which he proposed to prepare figured for some years in the prospectus, but this never came to fruition.

Concerning Major, who followed Cooley as Secretary, one cannot do better than quote the tribute paid to him by Sir

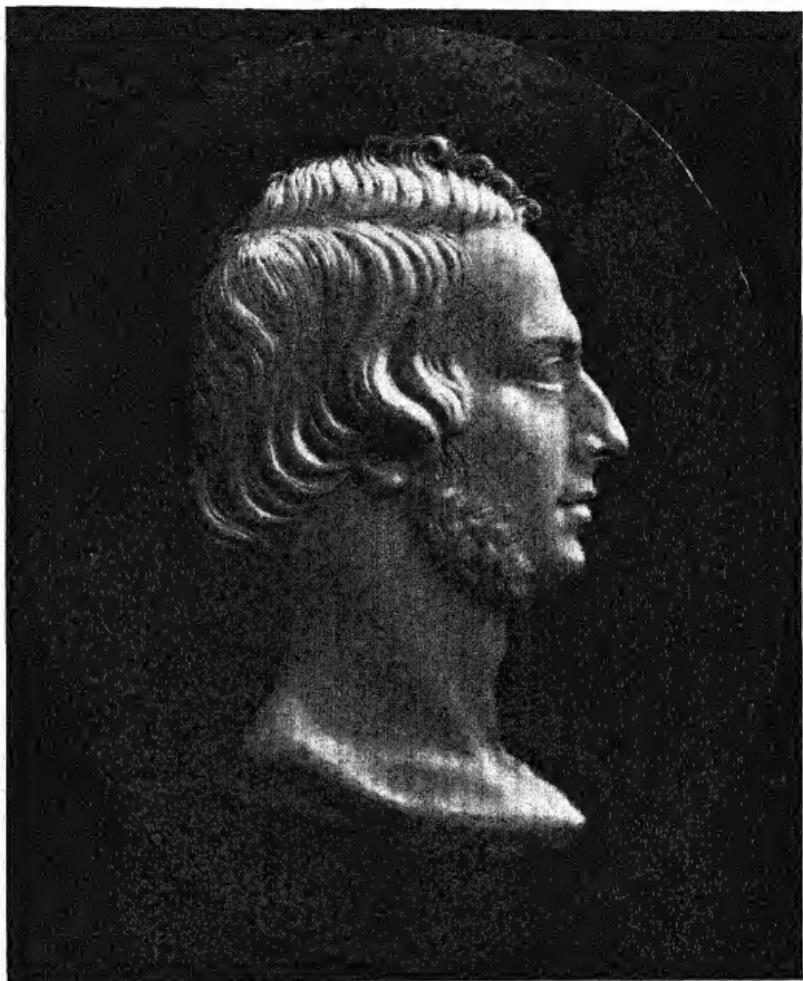
Richard Hakluyt and his Successors

Clements Markham, who knew him well: 'Under his able management the Society became a great success, which was due to his unequalled knowledge of the subject, to his wide acquaintance with fellow-labourers in the same field of research, to his readiness to impart his own store of knowledge to others, to his generous sympathy in the work of the editors, and to the charm of his manners and conversation.' In truth his energy was amazing. During his tenure of the secretaryship he found time to edit five of the Society's publications, besides writing introductions to two others; while five more stand to his credit, produced before or after his occupation of the post.

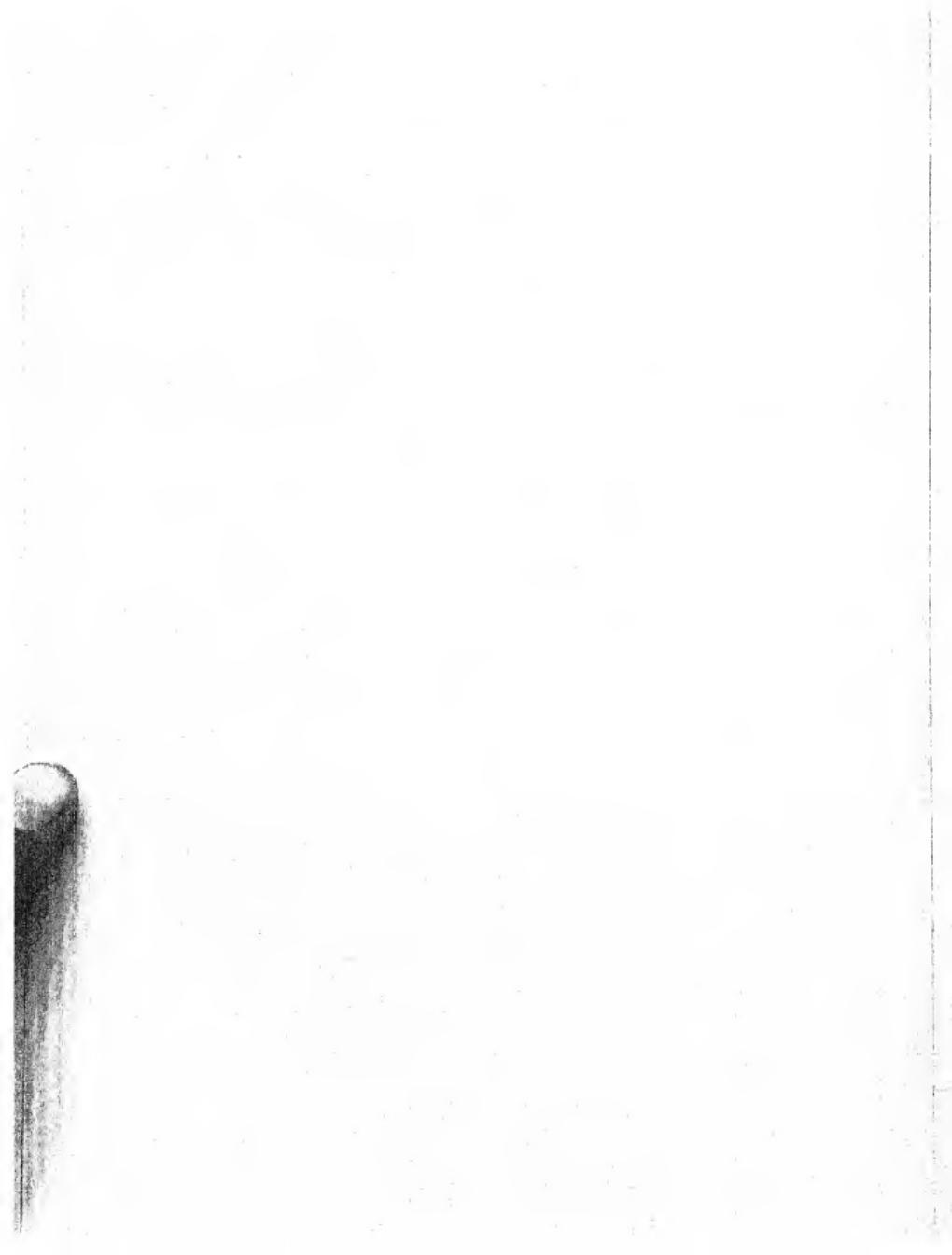
Milman resigned his Vice-Presidency in 1849, and was succeeded by the redoubtable Dr Whewell, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. He soon gave way to the Earl of Ellesmere, who was in turn followed by the Marquis of Lansdowne. The death of Sir Charles Malcolm in 1851 deprived the Society of a zealous supporter, who had procured for it the patronage of both the Admiralty and the East India Company. His place as Vice-President was taken by Captain Drinkwater Bethune. Among the recruits to the Council at this time was Richard Ford, whose writings on Spain are well known; and a little later (1856) Sir Henry Rawlinson, the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, M.P., and Sir Erskine Perry were elected to that body.

An unpleasant episode of Major's secretaryship was the attack made in 1852 by James Anthony Froude in the pages of the *Westminster Review* under the guise of a review of the Society's first three volumes, edited (as already noted) by Bethune, Major and Schomburgk respectively. This gave enthusiastic praise to Hakluyt's great work—'the prose epic of the modern English nation', Froude termed it—and to the Elizabethans whose achievements were celebrated therein; but the Society founded to continue his work was declared to have disappointed expectations, both by its choice of subjects and by the ineptitude displayed by its editors. An exception was made in the case of

PLATE VI



Richard Henry Major



Schomburgk's work, which was pronounced to be 'in everything but the cost a very model of an excellent volume'; the rest of the Society's issues up to date were 'not even tolerably edited'. The matter of the first volume was good, but it could only be enjoyed by 'shutting off Captain Bethune's notes with one hand'; while Major came in for censure for having, it was alleged, patronizingly apologized for the rudeness of the phraseology employed by Columbus. Other editorial offences were the addition of 'long, laboured appendices and introductions', which in no wise assisted the reader to understand the text, and the passing over of matter most worthy of notice, whilst 'what is trite and familiar [is] encumbered with comment'. Having thus belaboured the objects of his wrath, the critic laid aside his cudgel and resumed his laudation of the Elizabethan adventurers; but here it is needless to follow him, for the essay is still well known.

This ungenerous onslaught was deeply resented by Major, who had a further grievance in that Froude, with his usual carelessness, had at the head of the review attributed to him the editorship of Volume 1 and had thereby involved him in the scathing strictures passed upon that production. However, others were concerned in the matter besides himself, and he thought it best to ignore the article. But when, fifteen years later, it was republished as it stood under the title of 'England's Forgotten Worthies', in *Short Studies on Great Subjects* (which proved so popular that a second edition followed in the same year), Major judged it time to make a protest. He accordingly wrote to the *Athenaeum* (July 1867), complaining of the attribution to him of Volume 1 and warmly denying that he had cast any reflection upon Columbus. Froude replied briefly, regretting the annoyance caused to Major by the slip mentioned, and promising its correction in future editions, but refusing to withdraw or modify any of his criticisms. The correspondence closed with a rejoinder from Major, deplored the attitude taken

up by Froude. When, however, a second edition of the *Letters of Columbus* was issued three years later, Major, with the approbation of the Council, printed in his introduction the letters he had exchanged with Froude, and added a further vigorous reply to the latter's 'savage criticism'. Here the matter ended; though we may note in passing that in its present form the essay nowhere mentions Major by name.

The increasing burden of Major's official duties at the British Museum obliged him to tender his resignation of the secretaryship at the general meeting of 1858 (1 April). It was accepted with much regret and warm acknowledgements of the services he had rendered; and the search for a successor was begun. An overture was made to Mr John Barrow, who six years before had edited for the Society a volume on voyages to Hudson Bay, but he declined the offer.¹ Thereupon Major was instructed to sound Mr Clements Markham, who was at that time a clerk on the establishment of the India Board (then about to become the India Office). He readily accepted a task so congenial to his tastes, and he was formally appointed on 15 November 1858. Major was made a member of the Council, and continued to assist in that capacity for thirty years. From 1866 to 1881 he was one of the Secretaries of the Royal Geographical Society, with Markham as his colleague. They were thus closely associated in both societies for a long term of years.

Though only twenty-eight years of age, Markham had already seen much of the world as a midshipman in the Royal Navy. This was particularly the case as regards the Pacific coast of South America; and after he left the Navy he spent a year in Peru, where he grew interested in the history of the Incas and of the Spanish discoveries and conquests in those regions. His post

¹ No hint of this is given in the minutes; but in Barrow's copy of the work mentioned (now in the library of the Royal Geographical Society) is pasted a letter from Murchison to him, expressing a hope that he would accept the Council's offer of the post. On it Barrow noted that he was unable to agree, 'for many reasons'.

The Hakluyt Society

as Secretary of the Hakluyt Society gave him opportunities of utilizing such knowledge, and from 1859 onwards a stream of volumes poured from his pen, largely translations from Spanish works dealing with South America. These were scarcely interrupted in 1860, when the India Office sent Markham on a mission to those parts, to collect and transport to India cinchona saplings and seeds; in 1865-6, when he paid a second official visit to India; or in 1867-8, when he went to Abyssinia as geographer to the military expedition. During the first and second of these absences (and probably during the third) Major took over the Secretary's duties.

Besides the volumes dealing with South America, Markham's contributions during his secretaryship included such widely differing subjects as the embassy of Clavijo to the court of Timur, the early expeditions sent out by the East India Company, the voyages of the Hawkins, and the discoveries of William Baffin. Among the editors whom he recruited we find the names of (Sir) Edward Maunde Thompson of the British Museum, (Sir) Richard Burton, and above all, Colonel Yule, whose *Friar Jordanus* appeared in 1863 and his *Cathay and the Way Thither*—the high-water mark of the Society's productions—three years later.

Markham always contended that the records of the past had still a practical value; and he seldom allowed an exploring expedition to leave this country without being equipped with relevant volumes from the Society's stock. When the Admiralty demurred to the expense, he induced the Council to make a presentation. It was, therefore, with peculiar satisfaction that he recorded in the report for 1865 that the *Franklin* Search Expedition had found one of the volumes of the greatest assistance in navigating an uncharted channel. Nor did he omit to mention in other reports cases which had come to his notice of the usefulness of the Society's work in general.

Despite Markham's efforts to secure recruits, the membership

fluctuated considerably. At the beginning of his secretaryship, after striking off those hopelessly in arrears, there were 287 members. In 1864 a drop to 224 was reported; but a vigorous campaign raised this to 308. Two years later the figure was only 245. In 1871 it was 194; in 1872, 214; and in 1878, 240. It remained at about that level for the rest of Markham's period of office. Later it rose slowly to 333 in 1895. One handicap in securing new members (especially libraries) was the lengthening chain of back volumes. With regard to these a concession was made in 1878, when it was decided to allow members to purchase selected volumes, instead of a full set.

Sir Roderick Murchison attended a Council meeting for the last time in July 1870, and died in October of the following year. Though his main subject was geology, he travelled a great deal and took a real interest in geography. Of his services to the Royal Geographical Society, of which he was President four times, it is unnecessary to speak. Over the Hakluyt Society he presided for nearly a quarter of a century. Though he seems to have interfered little in matters of detail (which he could safely leave to such Secretaries as Major and Markham), his energy and force of character well qualified him to occupy the Chair; and Markham said emphatically that he was the mainstay of the Society during its formative period. Incidentally, we may note that, with a wealthy wife and a mansion in Belgrave Square, Murchison mixed in high society, and it was probably due to him that such names as those of the Marquis of Northampton, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Viscount Strangford, the Earl of Sheffield, the Earl of Ellesmere and Lord Stanley of Alderley appear in the Society's lists. Nor was this a matter of snobbery; for they were all genuinely interested in its work and the two last figured among its editors.

Murchison was succeeded as President by the Right Hon. Sir David Dundas, who had been a Vice-President since 1863 and had often taken the Chair at meetings; while the vacancy caused

The Hakluyt Society

by his promotion was filled by Sir Henry Rawlinson. Dundas was an eminent lawyer and politician, had filled the posts of Solicitor-General and Judge-Advocate-General, and was a member of the Privy Council. Markham describes him as 'one of the most popular men and one of the best *raconteurs* in London of his day, a good classical scholar and a sound comparative geographer', adding that he had 'a very fine library of books of travel' in his rooms in the Middle Temple.

Early in 1872, doubtless at his own suggestion, Markham was directed to ask the Royal Geographical Society to allow its Council Room to be used for meetings of the Hakluyt Society. This favour was granted, and the Council held its first meeting there on 2 July 1872. Ever since that date the Society has enjoyed this privilege, much to its advantage.

Shortly after this, the Society had the honour of enrolling a royal member in the person of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh. He remained a subscriber for the rest of his life. The second son of Queen Victoria, he was generally known as the Sailor Prince, for he spent most of his life in the Royal Navy, until he left England to rule over Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.

Dundas died at the end of March 1877. In June it was resolved to invite Colonel Yule (then a member of the Council) to occupy the presidential chair, and this he consented to do. Though, like his two predecessors, a Scotsmen, he had had a far different career from either. Brought up in an atmosphere of oriental learning (for his father had been in the service of John Company), Yule entered the Bengal Engineers in 1840 and served for twenty-two years in political, military, and engineering posts. Then he retired on account of ill-health and settled at Palermo, devoting himself to the study of the attempts of early European missionaries and merchants to open up communication with the Far East. His *Cathay and the Way Thither* was followed in 1871 by his monumental work on the travels of Marco Polo; and these two productions established his reputa-

tion as a profound scholar with a shrewd sense of values and a remarkable facility in extracting from ancient records whatever was of permanent interest.¹ In 1875 he returned to England and was appointed a member of the Council of India—a post which he retained for the rest of his life. His only further contributions to the Society's series were the two volumes serving as supplements to *Hedges' Diary*, and containing copious extracts from the manuscript records of the India Office relating to servants of the East India Company in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Mention should, however, be made of his (and Burnell's) *Hobson-Jobson*, an invaluable glossary of Anglo-Indian terms, first published in 1886. Shortly before his death (in 1889) Yule, who had been made a C.B. as far back as 1863, was gazetted a K.C.S.I.

One feature of Yule's regime was that the meetings of the Council grew less frequent. From 1881 to 1889 they numbered only one a year, and this one did duty also for the annual general meeting. Under his successor the Council reverted to its former practice of meeting every few months; but still the general meeting was dispensed with for several years.²

Yule took a far more active part in supervising the works in preparation than had either of his predecessors. He was presented with extra copies of the Linschoten volumes in recogni-

¹ Yule was as witty as he was wise. In 1876 Markham published a work on Tibet, in the course of which he made an elaborate comparison between that country and the valley of Quito in South America. A reviewer in *The Times* suggested that this analogy was pressed too far and tended to confirm in the minds of careless readers 'that popular impression which might be expressed in the phraseology of Fluellen: 'Tis all one; 'tis alike as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is *Llamas* in both'. I believe that that reviewer was Yule, for he reproduced the passage in *Hobson-Jobson*, of course without lifting the veil of anonymity. Nor is this the sole instance of quiet humour to be found in the pages of that sedate volume.

² When I then urged its resumption, in order to comply with the rules, Markham replied that he saw no use in holding it, seeing that none but members of Council ever attended; but he indulgently gave way to my wishes.

tion of the labour he had expended upon them, and the vote of thanks passed upon his retirement made special reference to 'the assistance and advice rendered by him in the most generous way to other editors, who are largely indebted to his cooperation for the success of their efforts'.

In 1882 came a change of Agent. Richards had transferred his business to another firm of printers, Messrs Whiting & Co., whom the Council agreed to employ in future; while Mr C. J. Clark, who had been Richards's right-hand man, was appointed to succeed him as Agent, with general supervision over the production of the volumes. The stock was left on the premises of the new printers until early in 1887, when the Society hired a portion of No. 4 Lincoln's Inn Fields at £20 per annum, to serve both as a warehouse and an office for the Agent. Thither the stock of 10,000 volumes was transferred. New rules were drawn up for the sale of these to members and also in certain cases to the public. Clark remained responsible for the printing when, in 1891, Messrs Whiting failed and their work was transferred to the Bedford Press. For the next three years the Society's volumes bore his imprint; after that the name of the Bedford Press was substituted.

At the beginning of 1887 Markham tendered his resignation of the secretaryship, after a service of over twenty-eight years, and was succeeded by Mr Edward Delmar Morgan, who had been for some time a member of the Council, and had recently edited for the Society two volumes dealing with early English ventures to Russia and Persia. He was well acquainted with the Russian language, and had brought the travels of Col. Prjevalski to the notice of the Royal Geographical Society, of which Morgan was an active member. Markham was of course elected a member of the Council.¹

¹ At this meeting we find the artist, Mr (afterwards Sir) Edward Burne Jones, elected to the Council. He only attended once and then dropped out silently, though his name remained on the Council list until the expiration of the usual term.

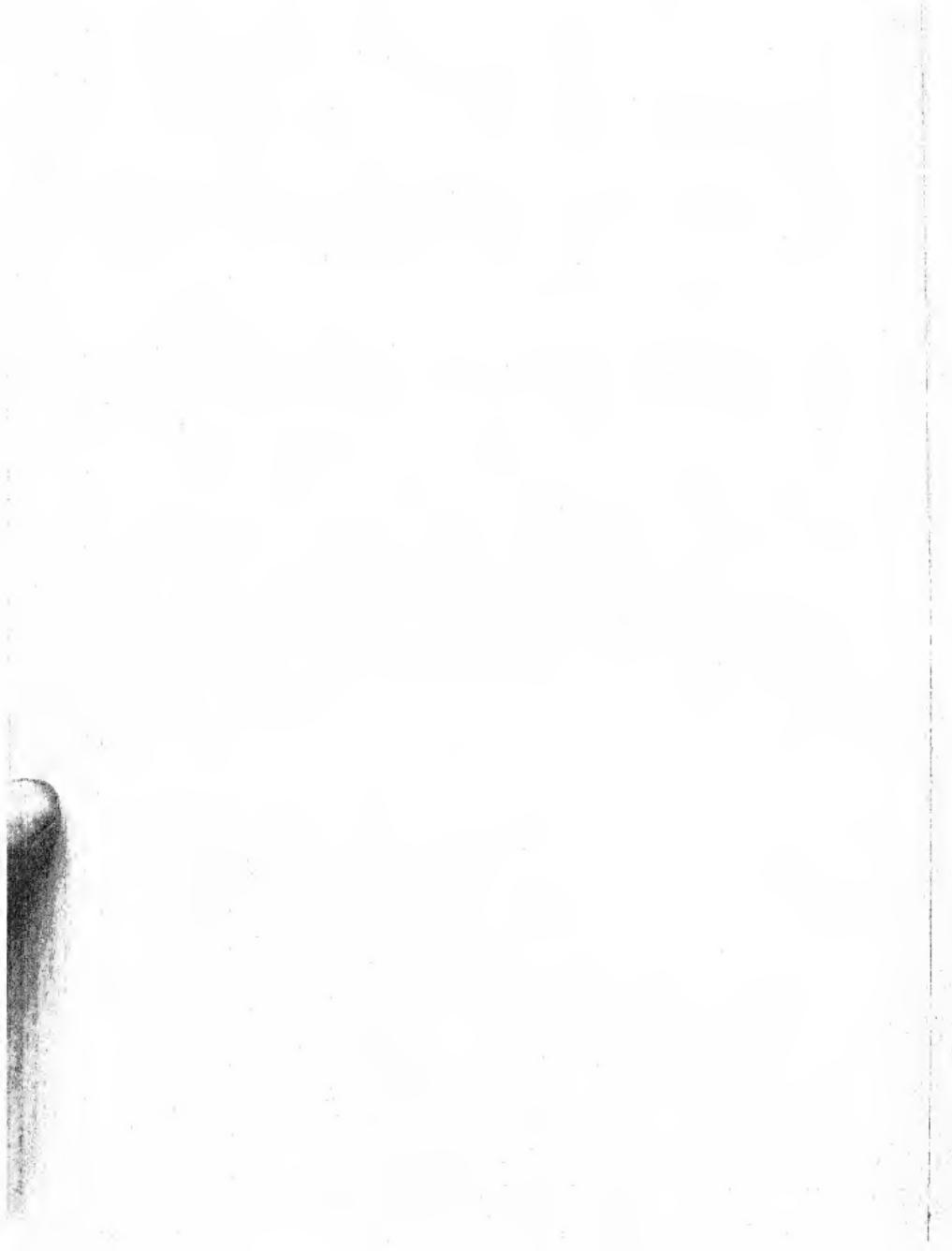
Yule's health had long been failing, and a month before his death on 30 December 1889, he resigned his post as President. He had nominated Markham as his successor, and the Council unanimously confirmed his choice. The new President held the post for twenty years, during which period he contributed seven more volumes to the Society's series. Adding the five which he produced after his final retirement, we find a total of twenty-nine volumes. Though he was a rapid and indefatigable worker, his output was undoubtedly too hasty, with the result that his work did not always maintain the high standard at which the Society has aimed. No scholar (in the strict sense of the term), he thought it unnecessary for an editor to undertake elaborate researches. In his view the narrative was the thing, and biographical or bibliographical details were merely trimmings. Difficulties in translation were solved by Gordian methods, and evidence was not always sifted with due care. On the other hand, besides a retentive memory and strong common-sense, he had 'an amazing power of absorbing knowledge' (Dr Mill, in *The Record of the Royal Geographical Society*, p. 137). As President he was quick at a decision, without being overbearing; and he was a very good speaker at public meetings. On the whole, we may say that, not only in his length of service but in his massive literary contribution, he was by far the most outstanding figure in the history of the Society. Not the least of his services to our association was in drawing more closely the links between it and the Royal Geographical Society. Both as Honorary Secretary (1863-88) of the latter body and later (1893-1905) as its President, Markham cemented firmly the relationship between the two societies, and on some occasions it was hard to say which exactly he was representing.

Morgan, who was Secretary during the first part of Markham's presidency, was a man of energy and decision of character, and there was never any question of his devotion to the interests of the Society. Evidently he took very seriously his duties as

PLATE VII



Sir Clements Robert Markham, K.C.B.



The Hakluyt Society

general superintendent of the works in progress. In the introduction to vol. LXXXII (ser. i) its editor notes rather ruefully that 'the secretary of the Hakluyt Society has obligingly revised, suppressed, altered, and added to many of the editor's original notes'; and while admitting the value of some of Morgan's corrections, he records his dissent from others. It would seem, however, that this editor's work did really need careful scrutiny, for he goes on to thank Markham for 'a timely correction of a very important misstatement'. Moreover, when, some years later, the same editor offered to prepare another volume for the Society, the Council only consented after some hesitation, and then with the stipulation that his work must be submitted before publication for 'revision' by the Secretary. As a result the project came to nothing.

Morgan's retirement from his office in July 1893 was, I understand, the result of a clash with the President over the newly formed Navy Records Society. Markham, ever keen upon anything that concerned the Navy and believing (rightly, as it proved) that there was room for both societies, warmly supported the new venture. Morgan, on the other hand, was alarmed at the probable effect upon the Hakluyt Society (which was none too flourishing financially). He freely criticized Markham's attitude, and this was naturally resented. The upshot was Morgan's resignation. No reason was given in the minutes for this step, though a handsome acknowledgement by the Council of Morgan's zeal and industry was recorded; and no permanent breach resulted. Morgan accepted a seat on the Council,¹ and continued to take a deep interest in the Society. To his youthful and inexperienced successor he showed much kindness in an unobtrusive manner.

¹ At this meeting the future Lord Curzon was elected to the Council. He never attended, however, probably owing to his frequent absences from England at this period. Another politician who joined the Society about this time was the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain.

Markham had now to find another Secretary. To my surprise I one day received a note inviting me to call upon him. I did so, and after a short conversation he asked whether I would take the vacant post. After considering the matter for a few days, I consented, and in November 1893 I was formally appointed.

Early in the following year the Council made an important change in its rules for the delivery of its publications. Those regulations originally provided for free delivery within three miles of the General Post Office. Copies for other members would be forwarded to any place designated, but the recipient must defray the cost of carriage and run the risk of loss; alternatively, the volumes would be delivered to an authorized London agent. These cumbrous arrangements proved troublesome to most members, particularly those residing abroad, and probably deterred many from joining the Society. It was now resolved to distribute all volumes post free within the limits of the Postal Union. The benefit from this change soon showed itself in an increase of membership.

The deaths of both Vice-Presidents (Lord Aberdare and Sir Henry Rawlinson) were followed in April 1895 by the appointment of Lord Stanley of Alderley and Sir Wollaston Franks to the vacant posts. On the death of the latter, two years later, he was replaced by Sir William Wharton, the Admiralty Hydrographer.

As the date of the fiftieth anniversary of the Society's foundation drew near, arrangements were made for its due celebration. These were of a modest character. On 15 December 1896 a dinner was held at Limmer's Hotel, attended by many members, including Major Darwin and Mr Arthur Milman (both sons of founder members) and the future Lord Curzon. After a brief business meeting, the guests adjourned to the Map Room of the Royal Geographical Society in Savile Row, where the President (by this time Sir Clements Markham, K.C.B.) delivered an interesting address upon Richard Hakluyt and

The Hakluyt Society

the aims and achievements of the Hakluyt Society. Finally, they were invited to inspect a small collection of books and maps of the Hakluyt period, mostly from the library of the Royal Geographical Society, though valuable contributions from other sources were not wanting.

For the Society's officers the jubilee festivities were clouded by anxieties about the agency. Mr Clark had never succeeded in working up, as he had hoped, a remunerative business, and the sum paid him by the Society for his part-time services was small. His financial position gradually deteriorated, and towards the close of 1896 the Council decided that it must make other arrangements. Thereupon he resolved to give up business, and come to terms with his creditors. This entailed a loss to the Society of about £150, though against that may be set the fact that for fourteen years Mr Clark had rendered valuable services for a quite inadequate remuneration. A new Agent was found in Mr Bernard Quaritch; but his duties were limited to the custody and sale of the stock and the distribution of new volumes. The premises in Lincoln's Inn Fields were given up; and ever since that time the Society has managed without an office, thus reducing administrative expenses to a minimum. For the collection of subscriptions and the general management of the finances it was resolved to select a Treasurer, and meanwhile these duties were undertaken by the Secretary. However, it proved difficult to find anyone willing to accept the new office, and so the task remained a burdensome addition to the work of the secretaryship. Considerable relief was afforded to my successors by the appointment in 1902 of a part-time assistant; and at last, in July 1908, Mr Edward Heawood (Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society) undertook to serve as Treasurer. He continued to discharge this exacting duty for a period of over thirty-eight years—a record among the Society's officials for the tenure of one post. At the same time his assistance as a member of the Council has been no less valuable, for he is a

recognized authority on cartography and the history of early explorations.

In 1897 a determined effort was made to attract new members to the Society, particularly from the United States. It was decided that five dollars (U.S. currency) should be accepted as the equivalent of the guinea subscription,¹ and a New York bank undertook to receive subscriptions and forward them to London without charge. As a result of the measures taken, the membership rose gradually to 434 in 1901, and to 489 in 1907.

The four-hundredth anniversary of Vasco da Gama's discovery of the sea route to India was commemorated on 16 May 1898 by a special meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, held in the theatre of the University of London in Burlington Gardens. Sir Clements Markham of course presided, and the occasion was honoured by the presence of T.R.H. the Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward VII) and the Duke of York (afterwards George V). Lord George Hamilton (then Secretary of State for India) and the Portuguese *Chargé d'affaires* also attended. Sir Clements read a paper (printed in the *Geographical Journal* for July 1898) on Da Gama's voyage and the explorations that led up to it. The Prince of Wales read telegrams which he had exchanged with the King of Portugal and expressed the pleasure that he felt in taking a share in celebrating so important an event. The Hakluyt Society had no official part in the meeting; but it had already, in its own way, commemorated the anniversary by producing a well-illustrated volume, edited by Dr Ravenstein, on Da Gama's voyage, and specially bound copies of this were presented on its behalf to Their Royal Highnesses.

The Society issued its hundredth volume—the editors of which (Sir Raymond Beazley and Professor Prestage) are happily still with us—in 1898, and thereupon it was decided to start a second series. This was perhaps an unfortunate decision,

¹ This arrangement was abrogated in 1934, owing to fluctuations in the rate of exchange.

for nothing was gained by introducing a new serial number on our volumes, and it entailed some risk of confusion between the two series. The question of altering the binding, or at least its colour (since light blue is very fugitive), was also considered by the Council; but no change was made, as it was thought that most members would prefer to have their volumes uniform in appearance. The second series started vigorously, for during the four years 1899–1902 three volumes were issued per annum. Then the pace slackened again to two volumes and even to one for 1906, 1908 and 1909. After a return for some time to the normal figure of two, three volumes were given for 1913, 1914 and 1915, but only one for each of the years 1917, 1919 and 1927. Thereafter the usual rate of two per annum was maintained until the outbreak of war in 1939.

Towards the close of 1899 Sir Richard Temple commenced an association with the Society's work that lasted until his death. With the assistance of Miss L. M. Anstey, M.B.E., he edited in six volumes the travels of Peter Mundy in Asia and Europe, two volumes from the papers of Captain Thomas Bowrey—all these were from manuscript sources—and the second volume of the *Life of Olafsson*. Further, when Col. Luard, the editor of Manrique's *Travels*, died while the work was still in the press, Sir Richard came to the rescue and finished the task. He served repeatedly as a member of the Council, and later as a Vice-President; and he always took the warmest interest in the Society's proceedings.

The increasing pressure of my duties at the India Office, which now included taking a share in the publication of the early records of the East India Company, obliged me to tender my resignation, and in January 1902 Mr Basil Harrington Soulsby was appointed Secretary and Treasurer in my place. He was the Superintendent of the Map Room at the British Museum, and the connection thus re-established (and ever since continued) recalled the days of Major, who was the first Keeper

of Maps at the Museum (1867-80). Soulsby devoted much time and trouble to the work of the Society, besides translating part of the text of Volume xi (Ser. ii) and contributing indexes and bibliographies to several of the other volumes. When he retired, after seven years' service, the Council warmly thanked him for the assistance he had rendered.

A subject which largely occupied the attention of the Council at this period was a proposal to include in its series a reprint of Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*. A scheme for that purpose was brought forward in May 1899, but it was not until a year later that it was definitely adopted. The plan provided for the reduction of annotation to a minimum, short introductions (mainly bibliographical), and a general index; and it was hoped to get the whole work into ten volumes (perhaps too sanguine an estimate), to be issued at the rate of one a year. For the limited amount of editorial work involved, it was proposed to enlist the services of a team of editors, each taking one section. Arrangements were made for printing, and part of Volume i was actually in the press when, in the spring of 1903, Messrs MacLehose of Glasgow announced that they had in hand a reprint of Hakluyt's work in twelve volumes, with an introduction and a general index. Thereupon the Council decided to abandon its enterprise. Messrs MacLehose agreed that any subscribers who so desired might have their reprint bound in the Society's binding; and a similar course was taken in the case of the reprint of *Purchas His Pilgrimes* subsequently issued by the same firm. Both works were listed in the Society's prospectus as part of an 'extra series'. Since Professor Beazley's share of the first volume of the Society's intended edition was largely in type, that section, dealing with the journeys of Plano Carpini and Rubruquis, was finished off and issued to members as part of the extra series.

In May 1904 a further change was made in the 'Laws'. As already stated, these limited the scope of the Society's work to

voyages and travels not later in date than Dampier's time. It was now resolved to remove this restriction and leave the Council at liberty to take in hand records of exploration of any date. Some five years later another alteration confined to members the privilege of purchasing back volumes.

The transfer of Mr Soulsby to the Natural History Museum led to his resignation of the secretaryship as from 1 August 1909. His successor, both in the Map Room of the British Museum and as Secretary of the Society, was Mr John A. J. de Villiers. The change of Secretary was quickly followed by a change of President. On 19 November in the same year Sir Clements Markham, now nearing his eightieth birthday, intimated his decision to give up the chairmanship, in view of the fact that for the future his absences from England were likely to be both frequent and prolonged. His resignation was of course accepted with much regret and with many warm expressions of the Society's indebtedness. He had offered to serve as an ordinary member of the Council, but was made instead an extra Vice-President. Needless to say, he continued to take the liveliest interest in the work of the Society; and at the time of his death (30 January 1916) he was still preparing volumes for its series.

Markham had recommended as his successor Mr Albert Gray, K.C., and this nomination was unanimously approved. So once again a Scotsman occupied the presidential chair. Gray, who was nearly sixty years of age, had been a member since 1887, had served on the Council for several periods, and had edited for the Society in excellent fashion the voyage of Pyrard de Laval. He had commenced his career in the Ceylon Civil Service, but after four years resigned and entered the legal profession. Called to the bar in 1879, he practised for some years, and then (1896) accepted the post of Counsellor to the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords. This appointment he held until 1922, and the value set upon his services was

shown by the conferment, first of the C.B. and then of the K.C.B. In the work of the Society he displayed the same thoroughness and sagacity that marked his professional career. He watched carefully the work of the editors, and in one case at least took the pains to revise the manuscript throughout; while his courtesy and consideration made it a pleasure to work with him in any capacity.

Gray, however, was a very busy man, and during the latter part of his career was often absent on visits to the United States. So the main brunt of the work, as usual, fell upon the Secretary. De Villiers proved equal to the task. He was a man of volcanic energy, and his duties as Secretary were never neglected. At times, it is true, he was forced away by pressing calls in other directions. He had already been employed by the Foreign Office as an expert in regard to the Venezuela and Brazil boundary disputes and in collecting on the Continent materials in connection therewith; while during the war of 1914-18 his services were again requisitioned by that department for duty at the Hague. During his absence Mr Heawood kindly undertook the work of the secretaryship, in addition to his own. At a later date De Villiers assisted in the Labrador boundary arbitration, and in 1927 his services were rewarded with a knighthood. His literary work included two important contributions to the Society's series, both translations from the Dutch; for, being of South African descent, he was thoroughly acquainted with that language.

During the first quarter of the century there were many changes in the post of Vice-President, due in each case to death. The Earl of Liverpool, appointed in 1906, died in the following year, and his place was taken by Lord Peckover. Lord Amherst of Hackney, who had succeeded Lord Stanley of Alderley in 1904 and who, with Sir Basil Thomson, had edited for us *The Voyage of Mendaña to the Solomon Islands*, died five years later, and in his stead Lord Belhaven and Stenton was elected. Sir

Clements Markham's appointment as an extra Vice-President had already been mentioned. On his death Admiral Sir Edward Seymour was elected, thus keeping the number at three; but when, a year later, Lord Peckover died, the vacancy was left unfilled, thus reverting to the usual figure of two. Sir John Keltie, Secretary, and later Vice-President, of the Royal Geographical Society, became a Vice-President in 1921 (on the death of Lord Belhaven), and Sir Charles Lucas joined him in 1924, raising the figure once more to three.

To resume our chronicle of the activities of the Society. In July 1910 a tablet was unveiled in Bristol Cathedral, commemorating the fact that for thirty years Richard Hakluyt was Prebendary of that cathedral church. The ceremony was attended by Sir Clements Markham as President of the Royal Geographical Society and by Mr Gray as President of the Hakluyt Society. A photograph of the tablet was sent to each member of our Society, together with a copy of Sir Clements's address on the occasion.

For some time production costs had been rising, owing partly to a general increase in the size of volumes and partly to the more liberal use of maps and other illustrations. Early in 1910 a suggestion was made that the subscription should be raised to a guinea and a half, and it was decided to issue a circular inviting members to state their opinions on the proposal. Out of 474 members only 235 replied, but of these 211 were in favour of the increase, and it was reasonable to suppose that the majority of those who had not answered had at least no objection. So at a special general meeting held on 19 July 1910 it was resolved to raise the subscription accordingly, for a period of five years from 1 January 1911. Although the increase had apparently no adverse effect upon the membership, when the time came to review the situation it was decided (4 November 1915) to return to the guinea rate. For four years out of the five, three volumes had been given annually, and in addition the general

financial position had been improved. The Society was thus enabled to pass through the war of 1914-18 without lowering its rate of production, except that in 1917 only one volume was issued, on account of its cost. We may note in passing that, since *Cathay and the Way Thither* had been for some years out of print, a new edition, with much added matter contributed by Professor Henri Cordier, was issued (in four volumes) in 1913-16. Another massive piece of work—Mr Alfred Maudslay's translation of *The Conquest of New Spain*, by Bernal Diaz—was likewise completed in 1916.

The tercentenary of the death of Richard Hakluyt (23 November 1616) was commemorated in various ways. For its part the Hakluyt Society arranged that its annual meeting should be held on 23 November 1916, and at this the President delivered an appropriate address, which was afterwards printed and circulated to members.

De Villiers's tenure of the secretaryship came to an end in the summer of 1923, when he retired also from the British Museum. In his last report he had the satisfaction of recording that during his fourteen years of office the membership had been raised from 468 to 623. He received most cordial acknowledgements of his services, and was made a member of the Council. His place as Secretary was taken by Mr Thomas Athol Joyce, O.B.E., a Deputy Keeper of the British Museum in the department of ethnography, who had done much valuable archaeological work in Central America and had written a great deal upon that and kindred subjects. He had been a member of our Council since 1921, and now consented to change places with De Villiers. He was accordingly appointed to the secretaryship at the annual meeting, held on 18 July 1923.

Joyce retained the post only three years, resigning in November 1926, 'on the grounds of an increase in official work'. He had found it difficult to give the necessary attention to the Society's business, for not only was he much engrossed in his

archaeological researches but he was permanently in bad health, owing to malaria contracted during his excavations in Honduras. On retirement he accepted a seat on the Council, and continued to take a great interest in its work. In 1933 his wife contributed to our series an excellent edition of Lionel Wafer's description of his life and adventures on the Isthmus of Panama. Joyce retired from the Museum in 1938 and died three years later.

When Joyce gave up the secretaryship, the post was accepted by Mr F. P. Sprent, the Superintendent of the British Museum Map Room (18 November 1926). He had been De Villiers's assistant at the Museum, and at the time of his appointment was a member of our Council. He had accordingly some familiarity with the Society's aims and methods.

Sir Albert Gray died at the beginning of February 1928, at the age of seventy-seven. At their next meeting the Council deplored the sad event in a resolution that spoke of his 'keen interest, wide knowledge, untiring industry, sound judgement, and a high measure of literary ability. Most of all, his personality, singularly attractive and transparently sincere, gained for him in a marked degree the confidence and affection of his colleagues.'

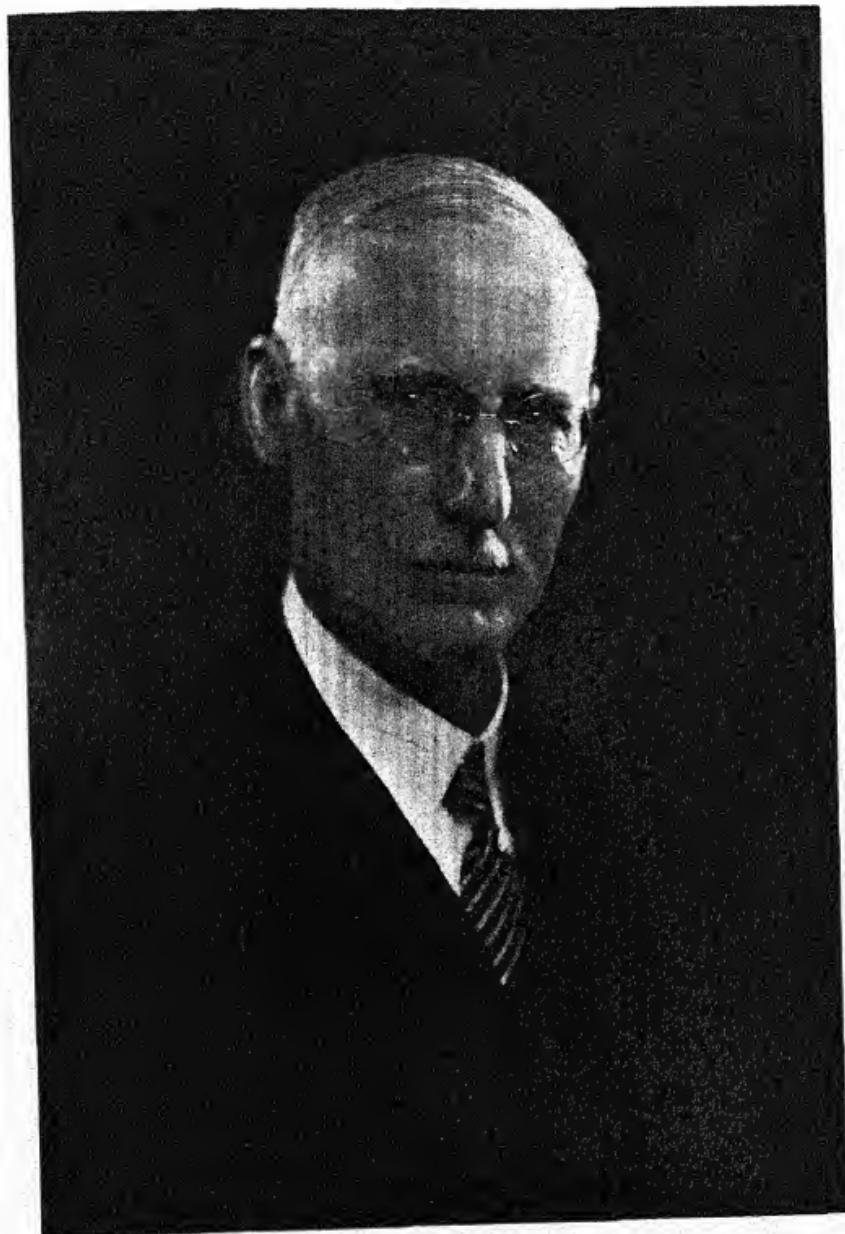
Shortly after the funeral Sir Charles Lucas came to me with an intimation that the Council wished me to succeed to the vacant post; and to this, since my retirement from the India Office had given me the necessary leisure, I agreed. I was accordingly appointed on 28 March 1928; and at the same meeting Mr Edward Lynam, of the British Museum, was elected to the Council in my place.

Little more than three years later (16 May 1931) Sprent died, after a brief illness. Though he had performed the duties of Secretary with conscientious care, he was never really happy in either that or his Museum post, being sadly hampered by delicate health and other troubles. At the annual meeting (9 July 1931)

Mr Lynam, who had succeeded Sprent as Superintendent of the Map Room at the Museum, and had kindly acted as Secretary in the interim, was formally appointed to the vacancy.

At the same meeting the office of Trustee was created and a trust deed was approved. The Society had gradually accumulated a reserve, which had been invested in the names of the President and the Treasurer—an arrangement which received the sanction of the Council in November 1928. Acting on legal advice, the situation was now regularized by the formal appointment of Trustees, and the necessary alterations were made in the 'Laws'. The first three nominated were the President, the Treasurer, and Dr W. L. Sclater. On the death in 1944 of the last named, Mr Malcolm Letts was elected in his place.

The years that followed the change of secretaries provided little that calls for special notice. The new Secretary speedily proved his worth, and steady progress was made. Many works of solid value were published, including a couple of volumes of writings of the two Richard Hakluyts, edited by Professor Eva Taylor. Apart from the yearly changes in the Council required by the rules, alterations during this period in the list of office-holders were due mostly to the decease of successive Vice-Presidents. The death of Sir John Keltie in 1927 left a vacancy which was filled by the appointment of Sir Richard Temple. Two years later the Right Hon. Stanley Baldwin (now Earl Baldwin), who had been a member since 1909, succeeded Sir Edward Seymour. In 1931, on the deaths of Sir Richard Temple and Sir Charles Lucas, Sir Percy Cox and Sir Arnold Wilson became Vice-Presidents; and six years later, upon the death of the former and the resignation of the latter, they were replaced by Dr J. A. Williamson and Admiral Sir William Goodenough (whose father had been an early member of the Society). The vacancy caused in 1945 by the death of Sir William provided an opportunity of recognizing the services rendered by Professor



Sir William Foster, C.I.E.



The Hakluyt Society

Eva Taylor, both as a member of the Council and as editor of several valuable contributions to our series.

When war broke out in 1939, those of our editors who were of military age dropped their pens and got into uniform; while a little later our Secretary, utilizing his experiences of the previous war, added to his many duties the task of training a portion of the Home Guard. Printers were obliged to give priority to government work, with staffs drastically reduced. In the circumstances the work of the Society had perforce to slacken. Fortunately, the Council had foreseen this and had at the outset resolved to reduce its output to one volume per annum. In 1944 a return to two volumes was decided upon, though, owing to the paper famine, both the 1944 and 1945 issues had to wait until the present year for publication.

Having been in office (in one capacity or another) for over fifty years and having passed my eightieth birthday, I had been for some time desirous of making way for someone younger and more vigorous. The cessation of hostilities seemed to offer a favourable opportunity, and at the annual meeting of 1945 (27 September) I vacated the Chair; whereupon Dr Edward Lynam, who had rendered fourteen years of distinguished service as Secretary, was elected President. His place in the former office was taken by Mr G. R. Crone, the Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society. He, however, soon found that his increased responsibilities in Kensington Gore would absorb the whole of his attention, and in March 1946 he resigned the secretaryship. Mr R. A. Skelton, of the British Museum, was thereupon appointed to that post. The subsequent annual general meeting (20 June 1946) brought further changes. Mr Hewood resigned the treasurership, and Mr J. N. L. Baker agreed to accept that appointment; while both Mr Hewood and I vacated our positions as Trustees in favour of our successors, and a fourth Trustee was appointed in the person of Mr E. W. Bovill. Further, as Dr Williamson, on his retirement to

Cornwall, desired to give up his position as a Vice-President, Mr Heewood was elected in his place.

Thus I come to an end of my rambling chronicle. As I do so, my thoughts fly backwards and forwards. Surveying the past, they linger, with affectionate admiration, upon the good men and true (including many whom I have perforce left unnamed), who laboured so unselfishly to build up the Society on sure and solid foundations. Looking into the future, they see no reason for despondency or dismay. It is true that production costs have risen steeply, with but slight prospect of any substantial reduction; true also that the war has played havoc (though only temporarily, we hope) among our foreign subscribers. But on the other hand there are encouraging signs of a growing interest in our work, promising steadily increasing support. The Society thus starts upon its new century of endeavour under good omens, and I for one am confident that its volumes, in their familiar livery of blue and gold, will render the same good service to the generations of the future that their predecessors have done to the generations of the past.

V

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

By EDWARD LYNAM, D.LITT.



THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

Before 1846

After reading the contributions of my colleagues to this volume I feel like repeating the words of La Pérouse when he reached Port Jackson in 1788, 'Mr Cook has left me nothing to do but admire his work'. Yet La Pérouse, while acknowledging Cook's masterly performance, knew well that he had done little more than open up a new world for exploration and exploitation. Our Society too, although since 1846 it has published a hundred and ninety-two serial volumes and thirty-three extra volumes of the original narratives of travellers and explorers, may be said to have only tested its sailing capacities. If the proper study of mankind be man, his customs and civilizations, his vicissitudes and achievements in every climate and every age, we still have a multitude of curious and important records to print. Our centenary year offers us an opportune port in which to examine our resources and our equipment before embarking on further voyages.

In calling the Elizabethan age one of bold 'singularity', Richard Gough described it most aptly. It was above all an age of emancipated thought and individuality, of novel experiment and buoyant hope. And it brought about the liberation of the English character, that character which, with all its strange contradictions, created during the next three centuries a vast empire for Britain and the foundations of another for the United States of America. Hakluyt was but one of a large number of Elizabethans who are much less well known to us than the Queen's courtiers and led lives much less dramatic than a Grenville or a Cavendish, but in their own way were both more useful to their country and more English. He was of the type of William Camden, William Gilbert, William Bourne,

John Davis, John Norden, William Borough and Thomas Tusser, men who all over the country were developing their talents and their knowledge with tireless industry. The astonishing progress made in England under Elizabeth which raised her, after 1614, to equality with any nation was brought about in no small part by the passion for learning and the original researches of such men.

None of these was born great. All had to achieve greatness, and that in an age when, as Spenser complained bitterly, talent and long labours were of little avail without patronage. In his youth, indeed, Hakluyt was favoured by fortune. The choice of his life's occupation, the study of geography, his promotion to a comfortable studentship at Oxford and his ordination as a priest came to him with scarcely any effort on his part. But they provided opportunities which he grasped with both hands. Perhaps his most distinctive characteristic was his almost intuitive understanding of all the national problems of his time and his steady application of his specialist knowledge to provide a single solution for them all. However brilliant the Court was, life in England was difficult for people of the middle and lower classes in the period 1560-1600. England's old-established commerce with Italy and the Levant had been much reduced by the rise of the Ottoman Empire and the devastating raids of the Barbary corsairs in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, while her staple trade in wool and woollen goods had suffered heavily through the Spanish invasion of the Netherlands. The new landlords, created by the dissolution of the monasteries, were forcing thousands of their tenants to leave their homes, and many had taken to vagabondage and thieving. And, for many years, there was the Spanish menace. The country was full of men ready for any venture, but lacking resources and inspiration. England was struggling for room. Hakluyt saw all this, and more—the Queen's useless embassies to the Sublime Porte and the Sultan of Morocco, Drake's fight

to cripple the power of Spain on the sea, and Gilbert's ill-supported and ill-fated effort to found a colony in America. He saw these problems and struggles with the eye of an expert geographer, of a student of the Age of Discovery, who realized the latent possibilities of an island kingdom situated as England was. The *Principall Navigations* was written to give his countrymen understanding and inspiration for their present and future by a true account of their proud past. By that monument of patriotic learning, by his translations of foreign works describing the achievements of other nations in the newly discovered lands, by his organization of geographical knowledge in England and by propaganda of every kind Hakluyt strove to show his countrymen that their future and the solution of their problems lay in maritime and colonial expansion. He devoted his life, not without success, to changing the outlook of a nation.

His association with Raleigh was a marriage of sharply contrasting minds; but it gave him an unforgettable lesson in the practical problems of colonization. The Royal patent to vast though undefined areas in North America was regarded by Raleigh as an opportunity to make money on a large scale but by Hakluyt and Walsingham as the beginning of a great national enterprise which the Crown ought to support. The Queen wisely refused Raleigh any assistance, but we can be grateful to him for prompting *The Discourse of Western Planting*, which illustrates Hakluyt's wide knowledge of the problems of his country. The story of Raleigh's two unsuccessful colonies on the Virginian coast, 1585-6, and of White's pathetic search there in 1587 is well known. It reveals no administrative capacity in Raleigh, who never set foot in Virginia, and little care for his colonists. Hakluyt did his utmost for his patron and the good cause during these years, publishing three foreign books describing exploration and settlement in America and including in each eulogistic dedications and verses to Raleigh. The settlements failed, as Bacon wrote in his

Plantations, with 'dishonour and the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons'. In those critical years even a Philip Sidney or a Howard of Effingham could hardly have made them a success. But they might have sacrificed fewer English lives and preserved the friendship of the Indians, whom Raleigh's leaders, Grenville and Lane, made our enemies for ever.

In 1589, when Raleigh, finding his Virginia more expensive than profitable, began to dream of El Dorado and assigned nearly all his patent rights in Virginia to a group of 'merchants of London', Hakluyt, although a parson, managed to be one of them. Raleigh remained the nominal patentee, and among other stipulations he made his assignees promise to name a city in America after him. This was the origin of the present city of Raleigh in North Carolina. Hakluyt, however, laid a firmer foundation for Virginian colonization by securing the publication of Hariot's description and of White's drawings.

Hakluyt's work in his chosen calling, a writer of history, had virtually ended in 1600. He had an ample income and he had well merited retirement and rest. But the tasks which he had set himself were not yet accomplished. Spain had been defeated on all the seas, the East India Company, with Hakluyt himself as its consultant geographer, had been founded, and English trade, including traffic for gold on the Guinea coast, was recovering. But the economic problem, with the poor 'knytters and cappers', the sturdy beggars and the maimed soldiers disbanded without reward after the defeat of the Armada, still remained. Hakluyt had never forgotten the Virginia project and the grant which he held in partnership with others from Raleigh. And there was now peace with Spain. Instead of resting on his laurels as a national historian and Archdeacon of Westminster, we find him taking advantage of the peace to make history. He now had the means and the following, the contacts with statesmen and great merchants, to begin again

where Raleigh had failed. In 1606 he was one of the four London patentees of the first Virginia Company charter. In 1609 he was one of the numerous patentees of the London Company, and saw his cherished dream, the result of twenty-five years of labour, realized. According to Professor Bruner Parks, his was the master mind behind the literature issued to publicize and support the colony in those years. William Warner in his *Albion's England* (1602) and Michael Drayton in his *Ode to the Virginian Voyage* (1606) extolled his efforts. The success was due, of course, to the work of many men, especially of Drake, who had effectually frightened the Spanish away from the North Atlantic, of Sir Thomas Smyth, one of the founders of England's commercial greatness, and of Captain John Smith, whose energy rescued the colonists from themselves. Yet, if any one man can be called the founder of Virginia, Hakluyt to my mind deserves that honour. It is an honour usually given to Raleigh. Raleigh seems to have become a popular hero for romantic or purely legendary reasons. He was indeed a fine figure of a man, always gorgeously attired, he had great literary abilities and a statesman's imagination, the Queen loved and enriched him and his fall and ultimate execution were tragic. But during his years of success he was rapacious, egotistic, untrustworthy and much disliked. Hakluyt, a man far more worthy of remembrance both by Americans and Englishmen, should not be deprived of his due. How much and how widely Hakluyt was esteemed during his life we know from a multitude of contemporary letters and references. He bought no city in America to perpetuate his memory; the Russia Company, and the explorers Baffin and Hudson, all showed their respect for him by giving his name to no less than four places in the Arctic regions which they discovered between 1608 and 1616.

1846

1846 showed Hakluyt's fondest hopes realized. England had become the greatest maritime power among the nations, and also, as a result of the Industrial Revolution, the leading commercial power. The world too had been opened up and the old order changed as never before by the Napoleonic wars and the birth of a new democratic spirit impossible in Hakluyt's England. In Central and South America the old domination by Spain against which the Elizabethans had fought so vainly had been overthrown by republican pioneers, while in the north men from a great English colony, side by side with those of a greater republic founded by Englishmen, had extended their journeys westward to the Pacific Ocean and northwards to the shores of the North-West Passage. Exploration was no longer undertaken as a method of warfare or to seize the sources of wealth of other countries or to discover El Dorados. The genius of Cook had shown the world that protracted voyages in unknown waters could be both comparatively easy and of the greatest scientific value, and had set an example which has been accepted by men of every nation to this day. With his voyages had begun the greatest period in the whole history of exploration and travel, 1770-1886. The men who made it illustrious were of every country and profession—whalers, missionaries, fur-traders, geodesists, geologists, naval and military officers—alike only in their courage and their resourcefulness. But among them Englishmen, not Frenchmen and Spaniards as in Hakluyt's time, took the lead. Two results of this were the foundation in London in 1826 of the Raleigh Club, a dining club of which every member was an explorer, and in 1830 of the Royal Geographical Society.

Yet the first half of the nineteenth century was a time of political and economic unrest in England, with problems of unemployment and of a need for foreign markets not unlike,

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though resulting from different causes, those of 1590. The Industrial Revolution developed individual enterprise and technical skill rapidly, sent British wares to every port in the world and eventually made England enormously rich. It began, nevertheless, the destruction of the English rural communities, the homes of countless generations of the people. The small agriculturalists and the labourers, neither able to adapt themselves to the changes nor to find employment, were very hard hit. Thousands of them were forced to look abroad for a country in which they could begin life over again and earn a livelihood by farming, the only craft they knew. Goldsmith could not foresee the future greatness of the United States or of the British empire, but he saw the sufferings of the emigrants from his beloved Auburn:

Ill fares the land, to hast'ning ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

The tide of emigration to the United States, Canada and Australia and later to South Africa and New Zealand set in about 1785 and reached its height in the 1850's, after the Potato Famine in Ireland. In order to deflect the flow from the United States, which was trying to attract immigrants, to English colonies, the English at home established associations to advise and help the emigrants. The men behind these associations were of the cultured middle-class—Hakluyt's class—and many of them clergymen. Their outlook was very different from the privileged commercial spirit of the noblemen and chartered companies which founded our first colonies abroad. Industrial and political changes had brought about social planning and a democratic independence beyond the imagination of the Elizabethans; but the bold singularity of the English still remained vigorous in the day of Place, Cobbett and Dickens, although it had taken new forms. To Gibbon Wakefield and his son, to Samuel Marsden and Lord Durham, not to mention Lord

Selkirk, the British rural population in those years of acute distress owed a lasting debt of gratitude, and the British empire of to-day should ever reverence their memory.

The popular literature published for or by the emigrants was copious, and is of considerable interest, apart from its historical importance. It comprises pamphlets and handbooks compiled by English, Scottish and Irish Emigration Associations, letters of emigrants to their relations at home and *Guides* and *Handbooks* prepared by Englishmen and Americans such as William Darby, S. H. Collins, Samuel Butler and H. Capper. The letters strike a note of optimism very different from that of *The Deserted Village*, and sometimes contain remarks about England which would have shocked orthodox Richard Hakluyt. One emigrant, apparently from Yorkshire, who had gone to Ohio about 1820, wrote: 'We have bought a farm where we intend to live the remainder of our days, without paying tithes to keep fat rectors, high rents to rich over-grown landlords or endless burthens of taxes to support placemen and pensioners.' As propagandist writings these handbooks and letters present curious similarities and contrasts to the *Inducement to the liking of the Voyage intended towards Virginia* (1585) of Richard Hakluyt the lawyer and to our own Hakluyt's *Discourse of Western Planting*. In the latter Hakluyt drew up an excellent list of twenty-four useful occupations for the future colonists, such as butchers, thatchers, carpenters and bakers; but the Elizabethan pioneers, notably Drake in his circumnavigation and the leaders of all the colonies in Virginia, were seriously hampered by 'gentlemen' who could not or would not do hard physical labour. The nineteenth-century writers likewise agreed that only agriculturalists and artisans were wanted. Some of the ideas of the *Discourse* were realized in the nineteenth century. Hakluyt advised that his proposed colonists should supply the home country with raw materials for manufacture, 'to the ymployemente of a wonderfull multitude of the poor

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subjectes of this Realme'. The sheep-farming on a large scale which MacArthur established in New South Wales between 1800 and 1815 helped to keep the great English textile industry alive during the Napoleonic wars; and ever since then Australia has supplied England with wool. Again, he suggested that the 'many thousands of idle persons within the Realme' with whom, because they had taken to thieving, 'all the prisons of the lande are daily pestred and stuffed full', might be transported to the colony where, after serving some years as miners, wood-cutters, hemp-beaters, and the like, they could be given their freedom. New South Wales and Tasmania later solved the question of the 'pety theves' and the British empire the problem of the 'idle persons'.

This interest in distant lands, which became widespread through all classes in the early nineteenth century, in time created a demand for accounts of the adventures of the first white men who had explored these lands. The collection and publication of these appeared to be an obvious task for the Royal Geographical Society. But that Society was too poor to undertake such a costly venture in 1846, and it had not yet progressed far with its proper work, the reduction to order and the systematic development of the science of geography, then still in its infancy. Besides, narratives of journeys, though they deal with maps, deal also with chaps. They are not purely geographical works but contribute to many branches of learning. Actually the foundation of our Society seems to have been as much a result of the revival in the study of history which occurred in England about 1820 as of the general interest in geography. As Cook had led the way in exploration, Hallam, with his *Europe in the Middle Ages* (1826), founded a new school of historians who realized that traditions, however ancient, and general theories, however attractively presented, were dangerously misleading. Original documents, widely collected, minutely studied and carefully compared, became recognized

Richard Hakluyt and his Successors

as essential to the formulation of historical truth. The government had begun the publication of long-hidden State Papers, patriotic noblemen like the Duke of Rutland and Lord Francis Egerton threw open to historians their ancient family archives, Lord Braybrooke published Pepys's diary, deciphered at last from the original shorthand, and officials like Sir Frederick Madden and Sir Henry Ellis revealed to England the wealth of rare documents of every kind which were stored in the British Museum. Scholars like Thomas Wright, Payne Collier and Agnes Strickland were searching out and publishing old charters, letters, patents, poems, diaries and plays. A large number of these was published by the Camden Society, which was founded in 1837 to continue the work of the great Elizabethan archivist and topographer and friend and fellow-Westminster of Hakluyt. And then somebody—we do not know who—discovered that Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, long forgotten by the general public and known to but a few antiquaries, was a collection of historical documents of great value and interest, brought together and edited with a scholarship worthy of 1846. Hakluyt's historical integrity, his strict adherence to the actual words of his narrators, his method of giving chapter and verse for every quotation and reference and his inclusion of such documents as would throw light on his subject, must at last have found full appreciation. The Camden Society might have undertaken the publication, separately, of the items in the *Principall Navigations*. It did not do so, probably because its chosen subjects were English social history and literature. But the foundation of our Society was certainly in part attributable to the sister institution. Among our founders were four active members of the Camden Society—Bolton Corney, Sir Henry Ellis, Dean Milman and R. Monckton Milnes; that Society was mentioned in our first *Prospectus* as a suitable model for imitation; and we seem to have copied its Laws almost word for word. What may perhaps be considered another connecting

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link is that the Hakluyt Society decided to publish its texts in their original form, not in paraphrases or abridgements. Still, as Sir William Foster has shown clearly, geographers formed a solid body in our Society from the beginning and the character of our work has always been distinctive.

While the main theme of the publications of the Camden Society has been history, that of ours has been historical geography in all its many branches. As exploration often leads to trade, colonies and empire-building, we have always had among our members a number of statesmen and colonial officials. Three at least of these have been Prime Ministers of England and one, Mr Herbert Clark Hoover, a President of the United States of America. And since man the adventurer and the men among whom he ventured have been the protagonists of all our prose dramas, we have had among our members both ethnographers and writers of novels. The interest of our narratives to the former is obvious, the latter have realized that our volumes, in which fact is often stranger than fiction, may provide them with useful material. Charles Dickens was an early member when he was manager of a theatrical company which produced Elizabethan plays. The name Dombey, unusual like most of those which he discovered or invented for his characters, was borne by an explorer in eastern Persia in the 1780's. Mr Walter de la Mare, whose *Desert Islands* is always a delightful companion, is still with us and has been a member of the Council.

Although the Society has published a great variety of travellers' journals as well as re-publishing separately many of the narratives in the *Principall Navigations* and most of those translated by Hakluyt or at his instance after 1600, Froude produced, in the essay to which Sir William Foster refers, a characteristic misrepresentation of our objects. He wrote: 'They [the Society] began unfortunately with proposing to continue the work where Hakluyt had left it, and produce narratives hitherto unpublished of other voyages of inferior interest, or not of English

origin. Better thoughts seem to have occurred to them in the course of the work; but their evil destiny overtook them before their thoughts could get themselves expressed.' Something evil, perhaps from Ada Doom's wood-shed, seems to have overtaken Froude's ability to express *his* thoughts while he was writing this! Actually, of the Society's serial publications, works by Englishmen amount to about 36 per cent, Spanish works to about 28 per cent, and Portuguese to more than 11 per cent. After these come Dutch, French, Italian, German, Danish, Arabic, Russian and Greek works, in that order of frequency.

Not all of Froude's strictures on the methods of our early editors (see p. 149) were unjustified. At first the introductions and notes and the handling of the texts often betrayed a lack of careful research. For many years now, however, the standard of research and of scholarship has been maintained, with few exceptions, at a level which has brought the Society a reputation, not only in England but everywhere, which is worthy of its title. In Hakluyt's 'Preface to the Reader' in the first volume (1598) of the *Principall Navigations* there is a famous passage which must have inspired many of our editors, as well as historians everywhere. It is worth quoting for its revelation of the man and his ideals:

For the bringing of which into this homely...shape, which here thou seest, what restlesse nights, what painefull dayes, what heat, what cold I have indured; how many long & chargeable journeys I have traveiled; how many famous libraries I have searched into; what varietie of ancient and moderne writers I have perused; what a number of old records, patents, privileges, letters, &c. I have redeemed from obscuritie and perishing; into how manifold acquaintance I have entred; ...what faire opportunities of private gaine, preferment and ease I have neglected.

Study of the expert advice contained in *Hints to Editors* is also manifest in several of our recent publications. This is a modest but invaluable brochure prepared in 1929 by Sir William Foster.

The Present and the Future

It forms one of the many services rendered to the Society by a man whom during my fourteen years as Secretary under him I came to know as a first-class scholar and a perfect President.

In the hundred years of its existence the Society has performed another feat which may shock economists. The only subscription which we ask our members to pay is still exactly what it was in 1846, one guinea a year. This we have achieved, first, by remaining a community, a group of people working voluntarily for the same cause, performing a work which is its own reward, secondly through the generosity of the Trustees of the British Museum and the Council of the Royal Geographical Society, who for many years have given us the use of their premises free of charge. Our editors, with two exceptions, have never received any reward for their labours except twenty-five copies of each work which they have prepared. Our Assistant Treasurer indeed is paid a salary and our Agents a commission; but in neither case is the reward, judged by the standards of the world of business, commensurate with the amount of continuous and intricate work which they perform so willingly for us.

The Present

The Society completes its first century hitting out freely on what appears to be an easy pitch. It has established a reputation, the number of members is larger than ever before, several new volumes are in course of preparation and by next spring the arrears in the issue of serial publications caused by the war will have been overtaken. Yet there are dangers, present and ahead, which require very careful consideration. In this section I am expressing my personal opinions, which are not necessarily shared by my fellow officers or by members of Council.

The costs of book production, of paper, printing, illustrations and binding, have all risen so sharply in the last six years that

the Society will find it impossible to continue the publication of two volumes a year unless its income is substantially increased. The issue of two volumes a year has indeed never been made obligatory by any agreement or Law of the Society, but is a good custom observed, except during the recent war years, over a long period. One way of increasing our income is to increase the subscription. This is not, however, to the interest of our members, and I believe that the Council as a body is very proud of the exceptionally easy terms which it has maintained so long for the members. The alternative method is to increase the number of members to at least a thousand. This, in fact, is what the officers and Council have set themselves to do this year.

There is, however, another problem which can only be solved by a still larger membership. The century 1846-1946 was, for the upper and University classes, a period of comparative leisure and affluence. As a glance at our list of publications will show, the Society has been very fortunate so far in securing as editors for its volumes many explorers, retired colonial officials, University Professors and Lecturers, specialists in history, historical geography or navigation, and members of the aristocracy. These people had all the knowledge and the leisure to carry out the necessary researches. (Incidental expenses incurred by editors for typing, photostats, indexing and the like, have always been met by the Society.) But now I doubt if our good fortune can continue. Where is the leisure of yester-year! Our University Professors and Lecturers are over-worked by their academic duties and by a multiplicity of committees, while with the cost of living and taxation both almost unbearably high for the middle-classes, every scholar and expert who can find time to write is writing for the publishers. The spirit of bold singularity is frustrated and bewildered. As a learned Society, not concerned to earn more than is necessary to pay our way, we have never competed with the pub-

The Present and the Future

lishers. Nor do we intend to do so now. But we are living in difficult times; and it seems to me (although I hope that I am mistaken) that unless we offer our editors some remuneration—say the comparatively modest sum of a hundred guineas for each work—we shall soon attract only third-rate men. A hundred guineas for each work means an increase of two hundred members over and above those needed to meet the cost of book production. I think such an increase quite feasible. The Society has almost shrunk from publicity in the past, our editors being content to make their work its own reward. But considering the interest and variety of the narratives we publish, the considerable privileges enjoyed by our members and the high reputation which the Society has gained without advertising itself, there is little doubt that if it became more widely known, especially in the English-speaking world, a membership of fifteen hundred might be attained without difficulty. There were no chairs of either History or Geography at our Universities until long after the foundation of our Society. Now each of these subjects has several special branches, in the study of which our publications often give useful aid.

We have in our publications covered most of the globe and many periods between 1400 and 1720. But we have not covered them systematically, and thereby we have often disappointed a number of our members. We have always given them for their subscriptions books of sterling worth; but occasionally there has been too long a sequence dealing with the same region, and members not interested in that region have sometimes felt dissatisfied. South America under the early Spaniards is an example, brought about by the unavoidable necessity of accepting works offered rather than the works most desirable. On the other hand, we have done little justice to the numerous records of travel in the Pacific Ocean, in Africa and in Asiatic Russia during the eighteenth century. It is not possible, of course, to please everybody every time. But the

Richard Hakluyt and his Successors

moment has come for our Society to survey the whole history of travel and exploration, to draw up a coordinated table of regions and periods which we have neglected, and to base our future publications upon that. This might preclude our acceptance, for the present, of a few good offers from suitable editors, and it might oblige us to offer an honorarium such as I have already mentioned in order to secure the right book and the right editor at the right time. But in the long run this should prove the best way to please all our members and to carry out our self-imposed task satisfactorily. Hakluyt and most of his successors arranged their narratives regionally. We cannot, and should not, hope to be so systematic since we do not publish collections; but we can try to make the sequence of our publications more varied and more comprehensive.

In a few of our recent volumes the editors have done a little too much. The historical and geographical backgrounds to narratives which our introductions and footnotes supply are designed to instruct and interest the reader. The over-erudite or over-enthusiastic editor may sometimes need reminding that a true scholar never bores or bewilders his readers. Here is matter for closer supervision by the Council.

As to materials for future publications, the world is still our oyster and good stories are legion. We may not be able to discover any reliable description of the inhabitants of the Painters' Wives' Islands which in Hakluyt's time were shown on maps close to the Straits of Magellan, or even of those of Buss Island, which in 1673 the King's Hydrographer drew in bold detail south-east of Greenland; but in this very book Mr Crone and Mr Skelton have mentioned narratives enough to keep us busy for a long time, and there are thrice as many more in the foreign collections which lie outside their province. The republication of certain of our early volumes, with the introductions and notes expanded and brought completely up to date, would also be well worth while. For instance, William

The Present and the Future

Strachey's *Historie of Travaille into Virginia Britannia*, *The Voyages and Works of John Davis* and the *History and Description of Africa* by Leo Africanus will never fail to interest any age.

For the volumes of our third series, or century, which we shall soon begin, I would make one recommendation. The light-blue cloth which we have always used for our binding is apt, as many members know, to fade, and to fade inartistically. Dark-blue cloth would both look and last better, the traditional design of our binding remaining, of course, unchanged.

Our founders proposed to publish accounts of travel only down to Dampier's time, or about 1700. We have, however, often exceeded that limit, and our latest publication, *The Voyage of Captain Bellingshausen*, covers the years 1819-21. Personally I can see no reason why we should not publish narratives of every age right down to the present time, or so far as the Copyright Law allows. The eighteenth century is particularly rich in unpublished material, while of the even greater wealth of nineteenth-century narratives much still remains either to be published or to be republished with explanatory introduction and notes. The lot of the Hakluyt Society is enviable, for it exists to publish, and to read, the best true travel stories of all ages. If, during our second century of existence, we can fulfil our three obligations—to our members, to our editors and to our printers and binders—we may well say to every member, in the words of Herrick:

But thou at home, without or tide or gale,
Canst in thy map securely sail...
And from thy compass taking small advice,
Buy'st travel at the lowest price.

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WITH LIST OF PUBLICATIONS
AND MAPS

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IV. A member wishing to resign shall signify his intention to do so on or before the 31st December. Otherwise he shall be considered as a member for the succeeding year, and be liable for the subscription accordingly.

V. The management of the Society's affairs shall be vested in the Council, consisting of a President, three Vice-Presidents, the Trustees, a Treasurer, a Secretary and 16 Ordinary Members.

VI. The members of the Council shall be elected at the annual meeting. The President and the Vice-Presidents shall hold office for one year, and be eligible for re-election. The Trustees shall be *ex-officio* members, and the Treasurer and the Secretary shall hold office until their appointments be determined by the Council or at an annual meeting, or they resign. All members of the Council shall be eligible to be Trustees, whether holding any other office or not. Any vacancy in the Council (including a vacancy among the ordinary members but not Trustees) occurring between the annual meetings may be filled up by the Council. At each annual meeting three of the ordinary members shall retire in order of seniority, and shall not be eligible for re-election until after the expiration of one year from retirement. Three other ordinary members shall be elected to fill the vacancies so caused.

VII. The Council shall meet whenever necessary for the dispatch of business. Three members shall form a quorum, and the chairman shall have a casting vote. All questions of expenditure shall be determined by the Council.

VIII. At the annual general meeting of members a report upon the transactions and financial position of the Society shall be presented.

Laws of The Hakluyt Society

IX. Such property of the Society as the Council may determine shall be vested in Trustees, who shall be appointed by the members in general meeting as and when vacancies occur. The Trustees shall be selected from among the members of the Society. In the event of a Trustee ceasing to be a member, he shall be deemed to have vacated his office, and a fresh Trustee shall be appointed.

X. Ladies or gentlemen preparing and editing works for the Society shall be entitled to receive 25 copies of such works without payment. In cases of collaboration, the number of copies to be assigned to the editors shall be fixed by the Council.

LIST OF MEMBERS

A

1944 Adelaide University, Adelaide, S. Australia.
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1924 Alba, Duque de, c/o Messrs Hatchards, 187 Piccadilly, W. 1.
1918 Alexander Turnbull Library, Government Buildings, Wellington, N.Z.
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1921 Allen, A. C., Esq., 19 Terlingham Gardens, Folkestone.
1944 Allum, R. W., Esq., Deputy General Manager, O.P. Railway, Gorakhpur, United Provinces, India.
1946 Alston, A. H. G., Esq., Savile Club, 69 Brook Street, W. 1.
1847 American Geographical Society, Broadway at 156th Street, New York, U.S.A.
1923 American Museum of Natural History, 77th Street and Central Park West, New York, U.S.A.
1943 Ames, Charles Lesley, Esq., 50 West Kellogg Boulevard, St Paul, Minnesota, U.S.A.
1945 Anderson, J. G. St C., Esq., c/o The Royal Bank of Canada, 6 Lothbury, E.C.
1932 Arizona, University of, Tucson, Arizona, U.S.A.
1934 Arkell, Anthony J., Esq., M.B.E., M.C., P.O. Box 178, Khartoum, Sudan.
1847 Army and Navy Club, 36 Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1924 Arnott, L. E., Esq., 217 South Catalina Street, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
1847 Athenaeum Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1946 Axelson, Eric, Official War Histories, D.M.I., G.H.Q., Pretoria, S. Africa.

B

1924 Baker, J. N. L., Esq., M.A., B.Litt. (*Treasurer and Trustee*), 13 New High Street, Headington, Oxford.
1909 Baldwin of Bewdley, The Right Hon. the Earl, K.G. (*Vice-President*), Astley Hall, nr. Stourport.
1946 Beans, George H., Esq., Tall Trees, 253 Wyncote Rd., Jenkintown, Pa., U.S.A.
1913 Beaumont, Major H., O.B.E., Kingswood, Marlow, Bucks.
1928 Beebe, Dr William, 33 West 67th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
1899 Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge, Donegall Square North, Belfast.

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1933 Benest, E. E., Esq., Toad Hall, Stalham, Norfolk.

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1914 Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii Islands.

1928 Besley, Surg. Lieut.-Comdr. Francis W., R.N. (retd.), 1 Quay Street, Halesworth, Suffolk.

1913 Bewsher, Brig. F.W., C.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., Flat 3, Grenville House, Sh. Gezira, Gezira, Cairo.

1847 Bibliothèque Nationale, Rue de Richelieu, Paris.

1934 Birkbeck College (University of London), E.C. 4.

1847 Birmingham Library, Margaret Street, Birmingham.

1875 Birmingham Public Libraries (The City Librarian), Birmingham 1.

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1893 Brighton Public Library, Royal Pavilion, Church Street, Brighton.

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1912 British Columbia, Provincial Library of, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C., Canada.

1890 British Guiana Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society, Georgetown, Demerara.

1847 British Museum, Department of Oriental Antiquities.

1847 British Museum, Department of Printed Books.

1847 British Museum (Natural History), Cromwell Road, S.W. 7.

1899 Brookline Public Library, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

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C

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1944 Ceylon University Library, Colombo, Ceylon.
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1910 Chicago, Geographic Society of, 7 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
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D

1925 Damon, Miss Mary, Moanalua Valley, Honolulu, Hawaii.

1847 Danish Royal Navy Library (Marinens Bibliothek), Overgaden o.V.62, Copenhagen, K.

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E

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1892 Edinburgh Public Library, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh.
1847 Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh.
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F

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G

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1920 Gostling, A. E. A., Esq., Lincoln Hill, Ross-on-Wye.

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1847 Guildhall Library, E.C. 2.

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H

1910 Hackley Public Library, Muskegon, Mich., U.S.A.

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1925 Haslam, W. H., Esq., Great Hundridge Manor, Great Missenden, Bucks.

1944 Hawaii, University of, Territorial Government Library, 9675, P.O. Box 18, Honolulu, T.H.

1920 Hawkes, Capt. W. Blackburne, Avonbank, 29 Fairfield, Christchurch, Hants.

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1887 Hewood, Edward, Esq., M.A. (*Vice-President*), 'Briarfield', Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

1928 Heffer and Sons, Messrs W., Ltd., 4 Petty Cury, Cambridge.

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1922 Hendry, C. A., Esq., Newspaper House (3rd Floor), 125-131 St George's Terrace, Perth, W. Australia.

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1937 Holmes, Major H. C., Pemberton Building, 625 Fort Street, Victoria, B.C., Canada.
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1894 Hull Public Libraries, Baker Street, Hull.
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1924 Hull, Lieut.-Col. F. R., Caixa Postal 63, Fortaleza, Ceara, Brazil.
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1920 Hyderabad, The Nizam's Government State Library.

I

1912 Illinois, University of, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
1929 India, The High Commissioner for, India House, Aldwych, W.C. 2.
1847 India Office, St James's Park, S.W. 1. [9 copies.]
1934 Indian State Railways, Central Publicity Office, 6 Fairlie Place, Calcutta.
1940 Indiana University Library, Bloomington, Indiana, U.S.A.
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1923 Institute of Historical Research, London University, W.C. 1.
1929 Iowa, State University of, Library Annex, Iowa City, Iowa, U.S.A.
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J

1943 James Jerome Hill Reference Library, St Paul, Minn., U.S.A.
1946 James, W. C. W., Esq., 131 Kingston Road, New Malden, Surrey.
1943 Jameson, Algernon J., Esq., 17 Marlborough Buildings, Bath, Somerset.

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1907 Johannesburg Public Library (R. F. Kennedy, Esq.), Market Square, Johannesburg, S. Africa.
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1847 John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester.
1847 Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
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K

1903 Kansas University Library, Lawrence, Kansas, U.S.A.
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1944 Kent, F. L., Esq., University Library, Bristol.
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1890 King's Inns, Hon. Society of the, Henrietta Street, Dublin.
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1880 Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, Keizersgracht 517, Amsterdam C.

L

1922 Laithwaite, Sir Gilbert, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
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1919 Leeds Central Public Library, Leeds.
1899 Leeds Library, 18 Commercial Street, Leeds.
1944 Leeds University, Brotherton Library, Leeds 2.
1899 Lehigh University Library, Bethlehem, Pa., U.S.A.
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1899 Liverpool University, Liverpool.
1933 Lloyd, H. I., Esq., O.B.E., M.C., c/o Westminster Bank Ltd.,
300 King's Road, S.W. 3.
1920 Logie, W. J., Esq., 90 Graham's Road, Falkirk.
1847 London Library, 14 St James's Square, S.W. 1.
1899 London University Library, Bloomsbury, W.C. 1.
1919 London University, School of Oriental and African Studies, W.C. 1.
1895 Long Island Historical Society, Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A.
1899 Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
1944 Love, John P., Esq., c/o Francis Edwards Ltd., 83 Marylebone High Street, W. 1.
1912 Luke, Sir Harry C., K.C.M.G., D.Litt., LL.D., St James's Club,
106 Piccadilly, W. 1.
1922 Lund, K. Universitets-Biblioteket, Lund, Sweden.
1932 Luzac and Co., Messrs, 46 Great Russell Street, W.C. 1.
1923 Lynam, Edward, Esq., D.Litt., M.R.I.A., F.S.A. (*President and Trustee*), British Museum, W.C. 1.
1880 Lyons University Library, 18 Quai Claude Bernard, Lyon, France.
1920 Lytton Library, M.A.O. College, Aligarh, India.

M

1932 Macaulay, D. A. R., Esq., Rylstone House, Rylstone, Skipton-in-Craven, Yorks.
1928 McCall, H. W. L., Esq., Standerwick, Northdown Avenue, Margate.
1926 McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
1945 Macgowan, Kenneth, Esq., 10737 Le Conte Avenue, Los Angeles 24, Cal., U.S.A.
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